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F. H. M. CORBET, M.R.A.S., F.R.C.I. (appointed July, 1892).

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13 JUN. 96

JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.



VOLUME XIII.—1893-1894.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.

COLOMBO:

H. C. COTTLE, ACTING GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.

1895.

ERRATA.

Page 142, *for* "Committee Meeting" *read* "Council Meeting."

Page 148, line 42, *for* "Kaṇṇakai" *read* "Kaṇṇaki."

Page 148, line 43, *omit* "and turned her out of doors."

Page 149, note *, *for* "Puṟanáṇuṟ" *read* "Puṟanánúṟu."

Page 149, *for* note † *substitute* the following note :— "† Sundaramúrtti Deváram on Tiruppukalúr beginning Miḍukkilátánai."

Page 191, line 16, *after* "1081," *insert* "and certainly prior to 1112."

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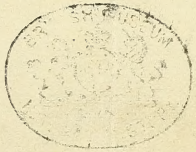
OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1893.



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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 27, 1893.

Present :

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet.
Mr. Staniforth Green.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting of Council held on November 4, 1892.

2. Elected the following resident Members :—Mr. G. A. Joseph ; N. Mendis, Mudaliyár ; Mr. J. Harward.

3. Read a letter from Mr. G. A. Joseph tendering his resignation as Assistant Secretary.

Resolved,—That the Council has received Mr. Joseph's letter with the greatest regret and accept the resignation with the greatest reluctance. The Society is deeply indebted to Mr. Joseph for the devotion with which he has worked in its interests, and for the great amount of personal trouble he has taken in the performance of the duties of his post.

The Council requests Mr. Joseph's acceptance of the honorarium which he has hitherto refrained from drawing out of consideration for the Society.

The Council tenders its thanks to Mr. Joseph for consenting to carry on the duties of Assistant Secretary until the Annual General Meeting, and authorises his employing a clerk on a salary of Rs. 20 per mensem from the 1st February, if necessary.

4. Laid on the table draft Annual Report for 1892.

Resolved,—That the draft Report be completed and referred to the Hon. J. A. Swettenham and Dr. Vandort.

5. Resolved,—To nominate the following Office-Bearers for 1893 :—

President.—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S. ; the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G. ; the Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G.

Council.

Mr. D. W. Ferguson.
Dr. H. M. Fernando.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Mr. Staniforth Green.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
Dr. H. Trimen.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Hon. Treasurer.—Mr. F. C. Roles.

Hon. Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., J. Harward, and G. A. Joseph.

6. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on such date as may be fixed by His Lordship the President.

7. Laid on the table a Paper by the late Mr. Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam on "The Snakes of Ceylon."

Resolved,—To refer the Paper to the President and Mr. Rámanáthan for their opinions.

8. Read a letter from Government with reference to the vote of Rs. 200 given for the preservation of the Dutch Records, and laid on the table connected correspondence :—

No. 140. Colombo, November 10, 1892.

SIR,—WITH reference to the letters addressed to you on behalf of the Society, under date February 7, 1888 (quoted in the Proceedings of the Society for 1887-88 at page 110, copy of which is enclosed), September 22, 1888, and October 28, 1889, I have the honour to request that instructions may be issued that the balance of the vote to the Colombo Museum for the preservation and translation of Dutch Records may be paid over to the Honorary Treasurer of this Society, in order that the amount (£12. 0*s.* 3*d.*) due by the Society for translation into English of Dutch Records relating to Ceylon may be settled, and particulars of expenditure furnished.

(2) In this connection the Council begs to remind the Government that the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council appointed to consider the Supply Bill of 1891, in their report (Sessional Paper LXIII. of 1890) wrote that they "willingly recommend the very modest provision for the preservation and translation of Dutch Records."

(3) The task before us of translating the remainder of the more interesting portions of the Dutch Records is a formidable one, but promises to be fruitful of most valuable results, in throwing much light upon the history and administration during the Dutch occupation from 1640 to 1795.

(4) In view of the importance and urgency of the work of translating and publishing these records and thus making their contents practically available, the Council trusts, that as the Estimates for 1893 are now under consideration, the present small vote of Rs. 200 for the preservation and translation of Dutch Records may be increased.

(5) Of the amount voted to the Museum under the sub-head in 1891, only Rs. 146·25 was spent, but this year nearly the whole vote will be exhausted, and next year it is hoped that the work may be energetically carried on, so that a larger sum than Rs. 200 can be profitably employed upon it.

I am, &c.,

H. C. P. Bell,
Honorary Secretary.

To the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

Colombo, December 13, 1892.

Sir,—With reference to your letter No. 140 of the 10th ultimo, relative to the vote of Rs. 200 for preservation and translation of Dutch Records, I am directed to inform you that the money voted in previous years is not available now.

(2) I am to add that it was not intended to vote this amount annually for the object in question, and as there appeared to be no necessity for including this item in the estimates of expenditure for next year, it was omitted.

I am, &c.,

H L. Crawford,
for Colonial Secretary

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society.

9. Laid on the table correspondence with the Archæological Commissioner *re* the balance of the Excavation Fund.*

Resolved,—That the final decision of the question be deferred pending reference to the Lord Bishop.

* For correspondence see pp. 12 to 17.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum Library, Tuesday, February 14, 1893.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet.
Mr. Staniforth Green.
Mr. J. A. Henderson.
Mr. E. F. Hopkins, C.C.S.
Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
Mr. F. C. Roles.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Acting Honorary Secretary.

Visitors :—Six gentlemen.

Business.

1. At the request of the President, Mr. Joseph acted as Secretary.

2. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on November 4, 1892.

3. It was announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Resident Members :—Messrs, G. A. Joseph, J. Harward, and N. Mendis, Mudaliyár.

4. Mr. Joseph read the following Annual Report of the Council for 1892 :—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1892.

THE Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit to this Meeting their Annual Report for the year 1892.

Meetings and Papers.

There were four General Meetings of the Society held during the year, and five Papers read. The first Meeting, which was the Annual General Meeting of the year, was held on the 19th of March last. After the Annual Report had been read and adopted and the Office-Bearers for the year elected, the President of the Society, the Lord Bishop of Colombo, reviving a much appreciated practice, delivered an address on "The Verification of the Ancient Chronicles and Histories of Ceylon." The President was followed by Mr. F. Modder with a Paper "On Sinhalese Weights and Measures."

The second Meeting was held on the 9th of August, when three Papers were read, one by the Lord Bishop of Colombo on "The Identification of Sirivaḍḍhanapura of the *Mahâwaṇsa*, chapter LXXXV."; another on "Ritigala" in the North-Central Province, contributed by Mr. J. B. M. Ridout ; and the third by Mr. F. Lewis, entitled "Notes on the Nidification of *Chrysophlegma Xanthoderus*" (yellow naped woodpecker).

The third Meeting was held on the 10th of October last, when a Paper contributed by Mr. L. Nell on "The Ethnology of Ceylon" was read. This Paper gave rise to much discussion, and it was thought advisable to adjourn the Meeting for another day to permit Members who wished to continue the discussion an opportunity of so doing.

The Meeting was accordingly postponed to the 4th of November, when a prolonged discussion took place.

Members.

The Society now counts on its roll 6 Honorary Members, 15 Life Members, and 234 Ordinary Members, making in all a total of 253 Members.

There have been elected since the last Annual Meeting 11 Resident Members, viz. :—Messrs. R. W. Lee, C.C S., H. P. Perera, J. W. F. Gore, A. H. Monaresinghe, R. O. S. Morgan, S. Moonasinghe, T. B. Yatawara, K. A. J. Pohath, Mudianse, J. A. Henderson, J. A. Casinader, and the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.

The following Members have resigned during the year :—Mr. M. S. Crawford, Dr. MacDonald, Messrs. G. D. Miller, A. G. Perman, W. R. B. Sanders, G. J. A. Skeen, J. F. Tillekeratne, Mudaliyár, W. van Langenberg, and W. H. Wright.

The Council have with regret to record the death of four of the Members of the Society since the last Annual General Meeting, viz. :—The Hon. Sir J. S. Grenier, Messrs. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., H. Pedro Perera, and T. M. Twigg, C.C.S.

In Sir Samuel Grenier, Attorney-General, the Island has lost a public man of the utmost integrity and uprightness, whose place it will be difficult to fill. Sir Samuel joined the Society in 1866 ; but his onerous professional and official duties prevented his taking an active part in our work.

By the death of Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., this Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been deprived of one of its oldest and most valued Members, and the Island in general has lost one of the best informed of its colonists : a man of prodigious memory and encyclopædic information, who had an intimate acquaintance with the people and the country. Mr. Ferguson was a Member of the Council for many years. In addition to the many other services rendered to the Society, he contributed an interesting Paper to the Society's Proceedings of 1885, entitled " Plumbago with special reference to the position occupied by the Mineral in the Commerce of Ceylon, and the Question discussed of the alleged existence in the Island of the allied substance, Anthracite." Mr. Ferguson also, at a *conversazione* held under the auspices of this Society in 1887, delivered an address on the " Pearl Fishery, Tank Regions, and Buried Cities of Ceylon."

The following is a list of his principal writings, taken from " Writers on Ceylon " :—

Ferguson, A. M., C.M.G.—Co-editor of the *Colombo Observer*, 1846 ; editor and proprietor, 1859. Suggested starting of *Overland Observer* (monthly), 1840 ; afterwards made fortnightly in 1853 and weekly in 1875. Various fugitive prose and verse contributions to the British and Ceylon Press, 1834–46. The Genius of Lanka, in Ceylon Magazine for 18—. The Aged Tamarind Tree at Point Pedro. Account of the Landing of the Sacred Bo Tree, &c. Statistics of Coffee Planting in Ceylon, first in *Colombo Observer* of July 11, 1857, next in E. T. 11, pp. 238–43. Papers on Reform of Ceylon Legislative Council. Papers on Trade and Revenue of Ceylon in successive " Common-place Books." Ceylon Common-place Books and Directory, with Gazetteer of Planting Districts, 1859. Summary of Information regarding Ceylon, 8vo. pamphlet, Colombo, 1866. Souvenirs of Ceylon, 1 vol. oblong, illustrated, London, 1868. The Solar Eclipse of December 12, 1871, 1 vol. 12mo., Colombo, 1872. British Administration in Ceylon, 1796–1878, 1 vol. 8vo., Colombo, 1878. The

Campaign of 1879 against Coffee Leaf Disease (*Hemileia vastatrix*) by the Coffee Planters of Ceylon, assisted and guided by D. Morris, Esq., M.A., F.G.S., 1 vol, 12mo., Colombo, 1879. Series of Papers on the introduction of "New Products," especially Cinchona and Tea, into Ceylon. Letters on the Melbourne Exhibition, and especially on India and Ceylon *vs.* China Tea in the Australian Market. "Plumbago: with special reference to the position occupied by the Mineral in the Commerce of Ceylon; and the question discussed of the alleged existence in the Island of the allied substance, Anthracite," in Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1885.

Council.

Two of the Members of the Council of 1892, viz, the Hon. Mr. Panabokke and Mr. H. H. Cameron, having been, by virtue of rule 16, deemed to have retired by least attendance, the vacancies caused by their retirement were filled by the appointment of Drs. Kynsey and Vandort. Dr. Trimen and Mr. Rámanáthan who, under the same rule, vacated their places by reason of seniority, were re-elected. The Hon. J. A. Swettenham was elected a Vice-President of the Society in place of Mr. T. Berwick. Mr. W. H. G. Duncan having resigned his appointment of Honorary Treasurer in consequence of his contemplated absence from the Island, the Council resolved to offer the post, pending confirmation at the next General Meeting, to Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, who has accepted it.

Publications.

Journal Vol. XI., No. 39, 1889, was issued from the press. It contains the following Papers, viz.:—(*a*) "A Visit to Ritigala, in the North-Central Province," by Mr. A. P. Green, F.E.S. (*b*) "Note on the Botany of Ritigala," by Dr. H. Trimen, M.B., F.R.S., &c. (*c*) "Etymological and Historical Notes on Ritigala," by Mr. D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe. (*d*) "Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Four Kóralés, Kégalla District," by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (*e*) "Essay on the Construction of Zoological Tables, with a Tabular Diagnosis of the Snakes of Ceylon," by Mr. A. Haly, Director, Colombo Museum. (*f*) "Johann Jacob Saar's Account of Ceylon, 1647–57," translated by Mr. Ph. Freudenberg, Imperial German Consul.

The Journal for 1891, Vol. XII., No. 42, was issued early this year. It is the first number of the Society's Journals issued in pursuance of the new system, viz., the amalgamation of the Journals and Proceedings. It contains the following Papers:—(*a*) "A History of the Ancient Industries of Ceylon" (Third Paper), by Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S. (*b*) Extract from "De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indie onder de Oost-Indische Compagnie (1602-1795)," translated from the Dutch by Mr. F. H. de Vos, Advocate. (*c*) "A History of the Ancient Industries of Ceylon" (Fourth Paper), by Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S. (*d*) "Notes on Eggs and Nests of *Brachypternus Ceylonus* and *Tockus Gingalensis*," by Mr. F. Lewis. (*e*) "A New Method of Preserving and Mounting Zoological Specimens," by Mr. A. Haly, Director of the Colombo Museum. (*f*) "Ribeiro's Account of the Siege of Colombo in 1655-56," translated from the Dutch by Mr. D. W. Ferguson. (*g*) "Buddhist Ruins near Vavuniya," by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S. (*h*) "A Contribution to Sinhalese Plant Lore," by Mr. W. A. de Silva.

All Papers read before the Society last year were printed before being read, and proofs were issued to Members likely to interest themselves in the subjects dealt with, or to take part in the discussion.

A list of Members up to date (with their addresses) is in the Press.

The Proceedings for 1889–90 have been compiled and are ready in manuscript.

Since the year 1891 the following arrears have been caught up, viz. :—Journals Vol. XI., No. 38, 1889 ; Vol. XI., No. 39, 1889, and Proceedings, 1887–8. The numbers of the Journal which remain to be issued are Vol. XI., Nos. 40 and 41, of 1890, and the Proceedings of 1889-90. These will be taken up as soon as the Government Printer has leisure. He was unable to attend to this last year owing to heavy official demands on the Government Printing Press.

The Journal for last year, Vol. XII., 1892, No. 43, will be issued to Members shortly.

The Society has to acknowledge its obligations to the Government Printer and his Assistants for their courteous attention and readiness to help the Society in the printing of its publications.

International Congress of Orientalists.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids was appointed (on the authority of the Council) to represent the Society at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in September last.

Library.

The number of volumes (including separate parts of periodicals) added to the Society's Library since the commencement of 1892 amounts up to the end of the year to 250. Many of the books have been presented to the Society, and several others obtained in exchange for the Society's publications. The names of the following donors amongst others may be mentioned :—The Secretary of State in Council for India ; the Bureau of Education, United States, America ; the Ceylon Government ; the Trustees of the Indian Museum ; the British Association for the Advancement of Science ; the Trustees of the British Museum ; the Committee of the North-West Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, Lucknow ; Dr. Adolph Bastian ; the Director of Public Instruction ; and the Hamilton Association.

Cataloguing.

A Catalogue of the Society's Library has not yet been printed. One was begun as part of a Catalogue intended to embrace the two collections of books in the Museum, that belonging to the Society and the other to the Government, which were amalgamated for the purpose. As, however, the collections were separated in 1891, and as a fresh Catalogue of the Government Library has been commenced, the Catalogue of the Society's books should now be published independently. The manuscript list is practically complete, and all that remains to be done is to finally revise the arrangement of the "slips" already written, to add the names of the books received since the date at which the preparation of the Catalogue stopped, and to pass the work through the press. The compilers deserve the thanks of the Society for their efforts to bring out a Catalogue of the

Society's Library. As the bulk of the work has already been done by Messrs. F. H. M. Corbet and D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, it seems not unreasonable to hope that some Member of the Society will come forward, as Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and W. E. Davidson did in 1882, and by seeing through the press a new Catalogue of the Library, ensure its being more widely availed of in aiding the researches and studies which the Society was established to promote.

Archæology.

Owing to pressure of work in the Surveyor-General's Office it has been found impossible to issue the requisite drawings for the Progress Reports of the Archæological Commissioner on his work at Anurádhapura during the past year and a half. This is greatly to be regretted, but seems unavoidable under present circumstances.

During the year has appeared, however, a full and elaborate Report by Mr. H. C. P. Bell on the Kégalla District, the first scene of the Archæological Survey's labour.

At Anurádhapura, in the North-Central Province, the survey has been prosecuted with all the vigour possible, with a limited vote and a labour force not exceeding 100 hands. The fine Monastery (or Nunnery) at *Pankuliya* (three miles north of the Bó-tree on the left bank of the Malwatu-oya) has been systematically and thoroughly excavated. The solitary so-called *Kiribat Vehera* (dágaba), a mile north-west of Pankuliya, and half a mile north of the Vijayáráma ruins, has been attacked, and one quadrant of its periphery laid bare. The identification of this dágaba should greatly aid towards fixing the position of other ruins in the ancient city.

Other ruined buildings nearer the town have been dug up, and have yielded interesting archæological "finds."

Round *Abhayagiri Dágaba*, at the group of the ruined monasteries, excavations have extended along the southern and western faces of the dágaba, and have exposed to view more than one building of great interest—notably a large *pilima-gé* (image house), with massive walls of the Polannaruwa type.

More of the ancient roads have been followed out, and surveyed, and plotted together, with the whole extensive range of ruins near *Jétawanaráma Dágaba.*

Vast as was the ancient city, there is every reason to hope that it is gradually being made to give up its plan to steady and intelligent investigation, and thus more than justifying the continuance of the Archæological Survey.

Two circuits were also carried out, as last year, in the course of 1892 through a portion of the North-Central Province, and several unknown inscriptions and ruined sites discovered.

Prospects for 1893.

The following Papers have been received :—

(1) *Kurunégala Vistaraya* ; with Notes on Kurunégala, Ancient and Modern, by Mr. Frank Modder.

(2) *Chelappadikaram*, by the Hon. P. Coomaraswamy.

(3) Notes on the Nidification of *Sturnornis Senex* and *Cissa Ornata*, by Mr. Frederick Lewis.

(4) On the Isles of Jaffna, by Mr. T. Kásipillai, F.R.H.S.

Finances.

The annexed statement of the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the year shows a credit balance of Rs. 274·46 brought forward from 1891, and an income of Rs. 2,705 in 1892, making a total credit of Rs. 2,979·46, which is Rs. 342·63 more than last year.

The amount expended in the purchase of books was Rs. 37 only, as against Rs. 740·86 in 1891, and on printing Rs. 431·06, as against Rs. 732·96. The amount received from Members by subscription was Rs. 2,147·25, as against Rs. 1,254·75 in 1891.

The amount spent on charges account was only Rs. 468·84, as against Rs. 878·55 in 1891, a difference of Rs. 409·71.

The Society is in debt ; but the amount to its credit in the Bank and the arrears of subscription still to be collected will cover this indebtedness.

General Account for 1892.

The Honorary Treasurer in account with the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).

Dr.	1892. Rs. c.		*Cr.* Rs. c.
Balance in Bank of Madras brought forward ...	274 46	Purchase of Books...	37 0
Members' Subscriptions ...	2,147 25	Printing ...	431 6
Government Grant	500 0	Charges Account ...	468 84
Entrance Fees ...	57 75	Balance in Bank of Madras ...	1,540 17
		Do. Savings Bank...	500 0
		Do. Treasurer's hands ...	2 39
Total ...	2,979 46	Total ...	2,979 46

Colombo, December 31, 1892.

F. H. M. Corbet,
Honorary Treasurer.

5. The following Office-Bearers for 1892, nominated by the Council, were duly elected on a motion proposed by Mr. F. H. M. Corbet and seconded by Dr. Lisboa Pinto, viz. :—

President.—The Right Rev. R. S. Copleston, D.D., Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S. ; the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G. ; and the Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, C.M.G.

Council.

Mr. D. W. Ferguson.
Dr. H. M. Fernando.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Mr. Staniforth Green.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
Dr. H. Trimen.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Hon. Treasurer.—Mr. F. C. Roles.

Hon. Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., J. Harward, and G. A. Joseph.

6. The Chairman said that on behalf of those returned to office he begged to thank the Members for electing them, and he desired to take that opportunity of apologising for the very formal nature of that evening's proceedings. He was afraid it had been due in part to his absence from Ceylon. Had he been in the Island a little more during the past month he would certainly have tried personally to provide something more interesting.

It would be the duty and aim of the Council to provide during the coming year as many Meetings of interest as the Members, by contributing Papers, should enable it to supply, and they would be glad to know that there were already in the hands of the Council some Papers which would enable it, in part at any rate, to attain that object.

7. The Proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. F. C. Roles.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 28, 1893.

Present :

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Mr. F. C. Roles.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. J. Harward
Mr. G. A. Joseph
} Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of a Meeting held on January 27, 1893.

2. The following gentleman { Proposed by Mr. W. C. Macready / Seconded by Mr. F. Lewis } was elected a Resident Member, viz. :—Mr. E. Booth.

3. Laid on the table a (printed) Paper by Mr. F. Modder, entitled "*Kurunégala Vistaraya;* with Notes on Kurunégala, Ancient and Modern."

The Lord Bishop of Colombo raised the question as to whether Papers could be printed before being passed by the Council.

Resolved,—That Mr. F. Modder's Paper be accepted and read at a General Meeting.

4. Laid on the table the following Papers :—

(*a*) "*Chelappadikaram*," by the Hon. P. Coomaraswámy.

(*b*) "A Temple Festival in the Mullaittívu District," by Mr. J. P. Lewis.

(*c*) "The Temple of Chittrevylader Kovil, Mullaittívu District," by Mr. J. P. Lewis.

Resolved,—That the Papers be referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for report.

5. Laid on the table Notes by Mr. F. Lewis on "The Nidification of *Sturnornis Senex* and *Cissa Ornata*."

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted as one to be read.

6. Laid on the table a Paper by Mr. S. Alexander, entitled "An Archæological Account of Patahawatta."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his opinion.

7. Laid on the table English translations of Vol. I., 1841-42, and Vol. II., 1842-44, of the Galle Dutch Records.

Resolved,—That the translations be referred to the Hon. Mr. Swettenham and Mr. P. Freudenberg, and that they be requested to make selections to be printed in the Society's Journal, or in case they recommend the printing of the entire translations, that it be done.

8. Laid on the table a Paper by the late Mr. Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam on the "Snakes of Ceylon," together with the opinions of the President and Mr. Rámanáthan, to whom the Paper was referred in accordance with a resolution of the Council.

Resolved,—That the extracts recommended by the Lord Bishop be laid on the table, and printed.

9. Laid on the table Circular No. 142 of November 21, 1892, *re* the balance of the Excavation Fund.

CIRCULAR.

For the Opinions of Members of Council.

No. 142. Colombo, November 21, 1892.

AT a General Meeting held on February 12, 1884 (Proceedings, p. xxv), at Sir A. H. Gordon's suggestion a subscription paper was set on foot for Archæological purposes. His Excellency headed the paper, and a sum of Rs. 825 was at once forthcoming, to be devoted "to the excavation of the covered chapels of the Mirisawetiya Dágaba at Anurádhapura, and to further archæological research."

(2) The fund has remained untouched since the excavation of the east chapel of the Mirisawetiya Dágaba. There is a balance of Rs. 642·21 still unexpended.

(3) Mr. Bell, in a letter to the Council (No. 148 of December 16, 1890, published in Journal No. 42, p. 30), kindly undertook to supervise any archæological work at Anurádhapura which the Society might be disposed to prosecute, and to furnish a statement of the results of, and the expenditure incurred in, such exploration, if the Council voted the money for certain alternative schemes which he suggested.

(4) The Council resolved "that the whole balance be placed at the disposal of Mr. Bell to be devoted to the objects for which the money was originally subscribed" (Journal No. 42, p. 31).

(5) Mr. Bell, in answer, wrote to the Council under date October 30, 1891, and he has since called attention to his letter. This letter was not dealt with ere this owing (i.) to the want of a quorum: on two occasions the Council was summoned, but did not meet; and (ii.) to want of time on two occasions, when the Council did meet, to discuss this amongst other subjects.

(6) In this letter Mr. Bell points out that the wording of the resolution of the Council "leaves the matter *in statu quo*," as the "object for which the money was originally subscribed appears to have been to carry out excavation at Mirisawetiya Dágaba." Mr. Bell suggests "that the opinion of the Sub-Committee under whose direction the work on Mirisawetiya Dágaba was commenced should be taken, as to the disposal of the balance on the Excavation Fund." The surviving Members of the Sub-Committee are Sir A. H. Gordon and Dr. W. R. Kynsey. Mr. Bell recommends the setting up of the Buddhist Railing (discovered by him in 1890) as a work of greater archæological importance than the others originally suggested.

G. A. JOSEPH,
Assistant Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE.

No. 112. Anurádhapura, September 3, 1891.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to invite attention to my letter No. 148 of December 16 last,* relative to the restoration of some ruins out of the unexpended balance of the Excavation Fund, to which I have as yet received no reply.

I am, &c.,

H. C. P. BELL,
Archæological Commissioner.

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society.

No. 182. Colombo, September 5, 1891.

SIR,—WITH reference to your letter of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inform you that your letter No. 148 of December 16, 1890, was laid before a Meeting of the Council of this Society held on May 13 last, when it was resolved "That the whole of the balance of the Excavation Fund be placed at the disposal of Mr. Bell, to be devoted to the objects for which the money was originally subscribed."

I am, &c.,

H. C. P. Bell, Esq., C.C.S.
Archæological Commissioner.

G. A. JOSEPH,
Assistant Secretary.

Anurádhapura, October 30, 1891.

SIR,—IN continuation of my letter No. 148 of December 16, and in reply to your No. 182 of September 5 on behalf of the Council of the Asiatic Society, I have the honour to point out that the wording of the Resolution of Council placing at my disposal balance of the Excavation Fund leaves the matter *in statu quo*.

The object for which the money was originally subscribed appears to have been to carry out excavations at Mirisawẹṭiya Dágaba. An Archæological Sub-Committee was appointed (see Resolution of Council of the Asiatic Society's Committee, dated March 24, 1884), consisting of His Excellency the Governor (Sir A. H. Gordon), President; the Hon. J. F. Dickson, C.M.G., Vice-President; and W. R. Kynsey, Esq., P.C.M.O., to direct that work in co-operation with the Government Agent and the Provincial Engineer of Anurádhapura. The amount subscribed was Rs. 840.

Work on Miriswẹṭi Dágaba was at once commenced under the immediate superintendence of Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S.

The result was disappointing—nothing of real value was discovered. It was found that no chapels existed on three sides of the Mirisawẹṭiya Dágaba, and all that was laid bare were the mouldings and plaster covering of the Dágaba. (Statement of President, General Meeting, January 29, 1885.)†

* Printed in Journal No. 42, vol. XII., p. 30.

† See also Excavations at Anurádhapura (S. M. Burrows), Ceylon Asiatic Society's Proceedings, 1887-88, pp. cii., ciii.

Subsequent excavation, however, in the course of the restoration of Mirisawẹtiya Dágaba undertaken by a Siamese Prince, has shown that chapels do exist on the north and south sides, but in a very dilapidated state.

I would therefore suggest that the opinion of the Sub-Committee, under whose direction the work on Mirisawẹtiya Dágaba was commenced, should be taken as to disposal of the balance on the Excavation Fund. Possibly the Sub-Committee may consider that the restoration of the north and south chapels of Miriswẹti Dágoba, if practicable, should take precedence of the works recommended in my letter No. 148 of December 16 last.

But if I may be permitted to venture an opinion, the setting up of a portion of the "Buddhist Railing," discovered last year, appears to me of greater archæological importance than the other works suggested, and its result likely to be more effective.

This letter has been delayed owing to my absence on an extended circuit.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

H. C. P. BELL, Archæological Commissioner.

No. 132. Colombo, October 26, 1892.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to invite your attention to my letter No. 112 of September 3, 1891, and to request that you will be good enough to favour me with a reply. I would remind you that more than a year has elapsed since the despatch of the letter under reference.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

H. C. P. BELL, Archæological Commissioner.

No. 133. Colombo, October 29, 1892.

SIR,—IN connection with my letter of the 26th instant, No. 132, I have the honour to request you to alter therein the words "letter No. 112 of September, 1891," to "letter of October 30."

(2) I beg that you will submit my letter of the 26th instant, No. 132, amended, as requested, together with this letter, to the next Meeting of Council, which is to be held I understand on the 4th proximo.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

H. C. P. BELL, Archæological Commissioner.

EXTRACT FROM ANNUAL REPORT, 1886.

"The balance remaining on the Excavation Fund raised by special subscriptions in 1884 amounts to Rs. 440·05, besides a small balance of Rs. 40 remaining in Mr. Ievers' hands from the advance of Rs. 200 issued to the Government Agent, Anurádhapura, at different times. As

the work of the Mirisawetiya Dágaba (for which the fund was originally subscribed) is completed, the Committee is of opinion that the funds may be usefully transferred to the general funds of the Society, to be applied to such other excavation schemes as may commend themselves to the Committee at its discretion. To this proposal the consent of the Special Committee appointed to deal with this fund (of which His Excellency the Governor is Chairman) has been solicited."

(1) I came across this passage to-day, and quote it here in the hope that it may be of use.

(2) I can find no record showing that any decision was arrived at by the Committee.

January 12, 1892. G. A. Joseph.

Minutes by Members of Council.

So far as I can recollect, the Council meant at the time it passed the resolution, that the unexpended balances should be placed entirely at the disposal of the Archæological Commissioner, to be spent on such archæological work as he (the Commissioner) chose, whether it be the restoration of the "Buddhist Railing" or that of the two "Pavilions" near the Ruanweli dágaba, or the excavation of the Jétawanaráma, or any other work. One of the original objects for which the money was originally subscribed was "to further archæological research." The resolution of the Council dated May 13, 1892, is comprehensive enough, I think, to authorise Mr. Bell to spend the money on the restoration of the "Buddhist Railing" if he thinks best.

E. S. W. Senáthi Rája,
Honorary Secretary.

Received and returned, November 24, 1892.

I was not present at any Council Meeting at which the question came up.

[It appears to me that the letter of October 30, 1891, should have been dealt with, either at a Meeting, or (as now) by circulating it, without *a year* being allowed to lapse, and attention invited.]

H. C. P. Bell,
Honorary Secretary.

I agree with Mr. Senáthi Rája.

November 29, 1892. F. H. M. Corbet,
Honorary Treasurer.

Seen. Returned December 2, 1892.

S. Green.

The Archæological Commissioner should be authorised to spend the money in any explorations or other works he thinks best. He is fully warranted, in my opinion, in doing so already, by the terms of the object for which the grant was originally made—"to further archæological research."

December 4, 1892. H. Trimen.

I agree with Dr. Trimen.

December 8, 1892. F. C. H. CLARKE.

I think the Archæological Commissioner should have a free hand in spending the money on any work he considers worth, in accordance with the object for which the money was subscribed.

W. P. RANASINHA.

The point is whether the setting up of the Buddhist Railing (as desired by Mr. Bell) comes within the purview of the resolution, that the fund collected should be devoted to "The excavation of the covered chapels of the Mirisawẹtiya Dágaba and to further archæological research."

The work of "setting up" is not "excavation" nor "furthering of archæological research."

Apart from the resolution, I would like to see Mr. Bell's desire realised.

January 13, 1893. P. RÁMANÁTHAN.

As far as I can gather from these papers the Archæological Commissioner has as much power as this Council to dispose of the money in question.

A. DE A. SENEVIRATNE.

I quite agree with Dr. Trimen.

January 16, 1893. J. P. LEWIS.

Seen.

January 17, 1893. F. H. M. CORBET.

Mr. Bell should be authorised to spend the balance as he proposes, *i.e.*, on the restoration of the Buddhist Railing.

Received and returned January 19, 1893. W. R. KYNSEY.

I agree with Dr. Kynsey.

January 20, 1893. W. G. VANDORT.

I agree with Dr. Kynsey.

January 20, 1893. J. A. SWETTENHAM.

I entirely agree with Dr. Trimen's opinion.

January 22, 1893. G. WALL.

[This circular was laid on the table at a Meeting of the Council held on the 27th instant, when it was resolved that the final decision of the question be deferred, pending reference to the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President of the Society.]

The sum referred to was not, I think, collected by the Royal Asiatic Society, as such, nor placed at the disposal of the Council as such: it was, as I understood it, only accidentally connected with the Society. I consider, therefore, that I have nothing to do with it, and have no objection to any use that may be made of it, so long as it is not the act of the Society.

But if it were proposed that the Society should directly or indirectly undertake any *restoration* whatever, I should be obliged to protest against it as alien from the objects of the Society. I should recommend, therefore, that the Council should reply that the Fund in question does not belong to the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, and that there is no objection on the Society's part to Mr. Bell's using it as he sees fit.

February 1, 1893. R. S. COLOMBO.

On a motion proposed by the Chairman, the Lord Bishop of Colombo, Resolved—That there is no objection on the part of the Society to the expenditure of the balance of the Excavation Fund, raised by special subscription in 1884, in the manner proposed by Mr. Bell and recommended by Dr. Kynsey, the remaining Member of the Special Committee, and that the Treasurer is hereby authorised to hand the balance over to Mr. Bell.

10. Laid on the table correspondence with Mr. J. F. W. Gore *re* the compilation of an Index to the Society's Publications:—

No. 200. March 21, 1893.

DEAR SIR,—I AM informed by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Honorary Secretary of this Society, that you most readily consented to undertake the onerous duty of compiling for the Society an Index to its publications.

2. On behalf of this Council of the Society (which it is not convenient to call together at present) I accept your kind and generous promise of such valuable help and assistance, for which, I am sure, the Council and Members will be deeply grateful to you.

I have to ask you to be good enough to confirm your assent given to Mr. Bell, so that I may inform the Council of your kindness, and send you a set of the Society's publications to start work with.

I am, &c.,

J. F. W. GORE, ESQ. G. A. JOSEPH,
Hon. Sec., R. A. S. (C.B.)

Tekkwatte Estate,
Kandy, March 23, 1893.

DEAR SIR,—IN reply to your letter of the 21st instant, I shall have much pleasure in undertaking the compilation of an Index to the above Society's Publications, and will use every care in its preparation.

I presume that you desire an Index to the titles of the various Papers comprised in the Society's Journals, &c., giving the names of the authors, and the number and date of the issue in which each appeared. I am glad also to learn that you will be able to send the books here. I would suggest that they be sent in instalments, arranged consecutively according to date. After making a list of the contents of each instalment, it would be returned for the one next in order. The lists would, when completed, be re-arranged in the form of an alphabetical index. Each instalment might consist of one package of the weight of (say) 40 lb., or several, as most convenient.

I could begin the work on, say, the 7th April, and in the meantime such suggestions as I have made are of course subject to your approval.

G. A. JOSEPH, ESQ.,
Hon. Sec., R. A. S. (C.B.).

I am, &c.,
J. F. W. GORE.

Resolved,—That Mr. Gore be requested to send for approval a specimen page of the Index he proposes compiling for the Society.

11. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. F. H. M. Corbet (late Honorary Treasurer), requesting an audit of the Society's accounts :—

Resolved,—That Mr. B. G. L. Bremner be requested to be good enough to oblige the Society by auditing the accounts up to the date of the Annual Meeting.

12. Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held on the 6th of May next, and that the following Papers be read :—"*Kurunégala Vistaraya*," by Mr. Modder ; "Notes on the Nidification of *Sturnornis Senex* and *Cissa Ornata*," by Mr. Frederick Lewis.

13. His Lordship the Bishop having to leave the Meeting, Mr. P. Freudenberg was voted to the Chair.

14. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Treasurer it was resolved that the Hon. Treasurer be instructed to issue a Circular to Members whose subscriptions are more than two years in arrear, informing them that unless payment is made before June 30 rule 30 will be enforced.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, Friday, May 19, 1893.

Present:

Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G., in the Chair.

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
The Hon. A. C. Lawrie.
Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.
Mr. J. Harward, Mr. G. A. Joseph } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of Council Meeting held on March 28, 1893.

2. Fixed the next General Meeting for June 3, the Papers to be read being the same as those advertised for the Meeting of May 6.

3. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. Bremner regretting his inability to audit the Society's accounts.

Resolved,—That Mr. Stanley Bois be requested to audit the accounts for 1892.

4. Laid on the table the following Circulars :—

(1) No. 212 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper by Mr. J. P. Lewis on "The Temple of Chittiraoyiláda Kóvil," referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for their opinions.

(2) No. 213 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper by Mr. J. P Lewis on "A Temple Festival in the Mullaittívu District," referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward.

Resolved,—That it be brought to the notice of Mr. Lewis that some parts of this Paper (2) are likely to displease those who agree with the religious ceremonies therein described.

(3) No. 214 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper on "Chilappatikáram," by the Hon. P. Coomaraswamy, referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted and printed.

(4) No. 211 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper by Mr. S. Alexander, entitled "An Archæological Account of Pattawatta," referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his opinion.

Resolved,—That the Paper be returned to Mr. Bell, and that he be requested to undertake its editing.

5. Laid on the table specimen of the "Index" sent in by Mr. J. F. W. Gore.

Resolved,—(i) That the specimen be referred to Mr. Bell, and that he be requested to arrange with Mr. Gore for its completion; (ii) that the Council express its great indebtedness to Mr. Gore for consenting to undertake the work.

6. Mr. T. B. Pohath { Proposed / Seconded } by { S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., / C. Drieberg, } was elected a Member of the Society.

7. Laid on the table a list of Dutch books recommended for purchase by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved,—That the books be purchased.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 8, 1893.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.
J. Harward, G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting of Council held on May 19, 1893.

2. Proposed by Mr. Harward, "That a General Meeting be held that night at 9 P.M., and that Mr. White's Paper, entitled "Notes on Knox's 'Ceylon' in its Literary Aspect," be read.

Seconded by the Hon. J. A. Swettenham.—Carried.

3. Resolved,—That a vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Stanley Bois for auditing the Society's accounts.

4. Laid on the table an application for membership from Mr. A. M. Perera, Superintendent of Minor Roads, Kandy.

The Hon. Mr. Swettenham proposed that the application do stand over for consideration at the next Meeting of the Council.

Seconded by Mr. Roles.—Carried.

5. Resolved,—That the Lieutenant-Governor (Vice-Patron of the Society) be requested to preside at the next General Meeting of the Society, to be held on August 10 or some approximate date.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 10, 1893.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
The Hon. P. Coomáraswámy. | The Hon. Justice Lawrie.
J. Henderson. | F. C. Roles.
J. Harward, G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.
Visitors:—Two ladies and six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on February 14.

2. It was notified that Mr. E. Booth and Mr. T. B. Pohath had been elected Members since the last General Meeting.

3. Mr. Joseph read the following Paper:—

NOTES ON THE NIDIFICATION OF STURNORNIS SENEX (WHITE-HEADED STARLING) AND CISSA ORNATA (CEYLON BLUE JAY).

By F. Lewis.

The White-headed Starling is, I believe, the rarest of Ceylon birds, its natural home being those parts of the country where the rainfall is well over 100 inches per annum.

In the course of many years I have only met with it at rare intervals. It is a gregarious species living in small flocks of from four to ten birds, when it may be found affecting small clumps of forest, but at no time far away from extensive forest-clad ranges of hills. In this way I found it in Rasagalla forest, Balangoḍa; Bambarabotuwa, north of Pelmadulla; Eratna, below Adam's Peak; and Wellankanda, in the wildest part of the Kukuḷu Kóralé.

In April, 1892, Mr. G. W. Jenkins, of Sana Estate, managed to procure for me an egg, and soon after I proceeded to the spot and saw the nest. This was placed in the hollow (decayed portion) of a *kokaṭiya* tree (*Garcinia termophylla*), some fifty feet or so from the ground, and was very roughly lined with decayed leaves and twigs, but upon no systematic plan, except that the leaves appeared to be mostly of one kind.

The egg is in colour a beautiful light glossy blue, broad oval in shape, but rather acute towards the "narrow end." My specimen measures $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

In 1876 I procured, while resident in the Dikoya district, what I believed to be the egg of the Ceylon Blue Jay (*Cissa ornata*), but the specimen being in fragments, I was unable for years to verify my supposition or secure a perfect egg. In January last Mr. J. Gray, of Balangoḍa, procured for me a perfect egg from the forest of Bambarabotuwa, and I am also indebted to him for a second specimen, though not in good preservation.

The nest that I found in 1876 was placed in the branches of a lofty tree, and was composed of small twigs, forming a rather large structure, of somewhat ragged outward appearance. The depression in the middle was small, but on this I am not able to place much significance, as the nest had served its purpose, and the birds had departed, so probably it was in a disordered state when I found it.

The egg, considering the size of the bird, is small, broad, oval, and glossy. My specimen measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{15}{16}$ in. The ground colour is a pale olive green, shaded over with blotches and streaks of a dull faint sepia colour, these markings being more confluent on the two ends than round the body of the egg.

The breeding season for the Blue Jay is seemingly in January, for I learn from Mr. Gray that he procured three nests this year during that month.

I take the liberty of recording both these "finds," as the first is unique, while the second, though recorded by Legge and Murray, is of rare occurrence owing to the shy habits of the bird.

4. Mr. Harward then read the following Paper:—

NOTES ON KNOX'S "CEYLON" IN ITS LITERARY ASPECT.

By H. WHITE, C.C.S.

[An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon in the East-Indies, together with an Account of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other *Englishmen* now Living there, and of the Author's Miraculous Escape. Illustrated with Figures and a Map of the Island. By *Robert Knox*, a Captive there near Twenty Years. *London*, Printed by *Richard Chiswell*, Printer to the Royal Society, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in *St. Paul's* Churchyard, 1681.]

THIS fascinating book, which has won well-earned praise for the accuracy of its descriptions, simple but vigorous style, and fairness and moderation of its tone, is surpassed, I venture to say, by no work in the English language in pathos and dramatic interest. But I wish here to consider the book not so much as a pathetic drama, a romantic narrative, a vigorous account of an unknown country, but as a piece of literary workmanship. I cannot call to mind having ever met with any notes on what I may call the purely literary aspect of Knox's book, though it is well known and appreciated as a rare storehouse of information on the then condition of the Kandyan kingdom.

At the outset we must bear in mind that this book was written by a sailor who had been a captive among the Kandyans for twenty years. Knox was only seventeen years of age, a mere boy, when on January 21, 1657, his father's ship, the frigate Ann, set sail from London to trade from port to port in India. In November, 1659, when Knox, as he himself tells us, was nineteen years old, the ship put in to Cottiar bay. The crew were made captives and carried off into the Kandyan country. Knox remained a captive for twenty years, escaped to Mannár in 1679, and reached England in 1680. He lost no time in the preparation of his book. He even wrote part of it on the voyage home, as he mentions in his letter of March 18, 1681, to the Committee of the East India Company, when he presented his manuscript work

to them, and in August, 1681, the book was published with illustrations and a map ; or, as Knox expresses it :—

What I formerly Presented you in Writing having in pursuance of your Commands now somewhat dress'd by the help of the Printer and Graver, I a second time humbly tender to you.

This was almost exactly twenty-four years after the author first set sail with his father as a boy of seventeen, and less than twelve months after he reached England. The book is truly a marvellous production as a piece of literary work when we consider the above circumstances, but still more when we consider, what is hard to realise, that for twenty years its author had no books save three (which will be mentioned hereafter), no writing materials, and no society except that of one or two of his fellow captives and of course his Kandyan captors. To use his own words to a chief who came to sound him with a view to his employment at the Kandyan court :—

When I came ashore I was but young, and that which then I knew now I had forgot for want of practice, having had neither ink nor paper since I came ashore.

The marvel is that he even remembered his own language.

There are two things which charm us in Knox's book—and here I am thinking mostly of the personal narrative, for the book is in two parts—the descriptive portion and the personal narrative. There is the charm of the subject and the charm of the style.

The secret of the charm of Knox's style is that his English is the English of the Bible, which with two other books was his sole reading during his long captivity. He says :—

We had with us a *Practice of Piety* and Mr. *Rogers'* seven Treatises called the *Practice of Christianity.** With which companions we did frequently discourse ; and in the cool of the Evening walk abroad in the Fields for a refreshing, tyred with being all day in our House or Prison.

And again :—

I had read my two Books so often over that I had them almost by heart.

* A copy of this book is in the Society's Library.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

He describes in a passage, which is too long to quote, how he fell in with an English Bible, and it is evident that this, too, he read so often that he had it almost by heart. He is steeped in the style of the Bible, which has become his natural language, and his pages teem with direct and apposite Biblical allusions. Of the Kandyan king he says :—

> Like Rehoboam he added yet more to the people's yoke. ... he daily contriveth and buildeth in his Palace like *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Of himself, when forced to leave his quarters owing to an incursion by the Dutch, he says :—

> This called to my remembrance the words of Job : " Naked came I into this world and naked shall I return."

In one passage he likens himself to Elijah under the juniper tree, and in another to the captive Jews. The elephants he met in the woods in the course of his flight to Mannár he looked upon as a help to him in his flight, and compared them to the darkness which came between Israel and the Egyptians. Not only does Knox thus continually use illustrations drawn from the Bible, but he has acquired a Biblical tone of phraseology. The offerings of the Siṉhalese are " arms and oblations." He says—

> God gave us favour in the sight of this people. God was pleased by their grief and heaviness to move these heathen to pity.

Temple offerings he calls " sacrifices offered to idols," and he speaks of " the famine of God's word and sacrifices." It would be tedious to multiply examples: the perusal of a page of the personal narrative will show that Knox was simply saturated with the Biblical style.

The following specimen will show what I mean. Speaking of himself after the death of his father he says :—

> Thus was I left Desolate, Sick, and in Captivity, having no earthly Comforter, none but only He who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the Prisoners and to show himself a Father of the Fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

To leave this branch of the subject, I should now like to give some instances of Knox's aptness of diction, a *curiosa*

felicitas of language which I have always admired. Take this passage on the talipot tree :—

It is as big and tall as a Ship's Mast and very streight, bearing only Leaves : which are of great use and benefit to this People ; one single Leaf being so broad and large that it will cover some fifteen or twenty men, and keep them dry when it rains. The leaf being dryed is very strong and limber, and most wonderfully made for men's Convenience to carry along with them ; for tho' this leaf be thus broad when it is open, yet it will fold close like a *Ladies' fan*, and then it is no bigger than a man's arm. It is wonderful light, they cut them into pieces and carry them in their hands. The whole leaf spread is round, almost like a *Circle*, but being cut in pieces for use are near like unto a *Triangle*. They lay them upon their heads as they travel, with the peaked end foremost, which is convenient to make their way through the Boughs and Thickets. When the Sun is vehement hot they use them to shade themselves from the heat. Soldiers all carry them ; for besides the benefit of keeping them dry in case it rain upon the march, these leaves make their Tents to ly under in the Night. A marvelous Mercy which *Almighty God* hath bestowed upon this poor and naked People in this Rainy Country ! One of these I brought with me into *England* and you have it described in the Figure.

I venture to say that no one could better this description. Again, take this account of the *kabaragoyá**—

There is a Creature here called *Kobbera guion*, resembling an *Alligator*. The biggest may be five or six foot long, speckled black and white. He lives most upon the Land, but will take the water and dive under it : hath a long blew forked tongue like a sting, which he puts forth and hisseth and gapeth, but doth not bite nor sting, tho' the appearance of him would scare those that knew not what he was. He is not afraid of people, but will ly gaping and hissing at them in the way, and will scarce stir out of it. He will come and eat Carrion with the *Dogs* and *Jackals* and will not be scared away by them, but if they come near to bark or snap at him, with his tayl, which is about an Ell long like a whip, he will so slash them, that they will run away and howl.

This is true to the life and most graphic. Or take this of the Siṉhalese :—

At their leisure when their affairs will permit they commonly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their language called *amblamb*, where they sit chewing betel and looking one upon the other very gravely and solidly.

Or this of their paddy fields :—

* *Hydrosaurus salvator* (order *Saurea*).—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Neither are their steep and Hilly Lands uncapable of being thus overflown with Water. For the doing of which they use this Art. They level these Hills into narrow Allies, some three, some eight foot wide, one beneath another, according to the steepness of the Hills, working them and digging them in that fashion that they lye smooth and flat like so many Stairs up the Hills one above another. The Waters at the top of the Hills falling downwards are let into these Allies and so successively by running out of one into another, water all; first the higher Lands and then the lower. The highest Allies having such a quantity of Water as may suffice to cover them, the rest runs over unto the next, and that having its proportion unto the next, and so by degrees it falls into all these hanging parcels of Ground.

Or this of termites or white-ants:—

There is a sixth sort called *Vaeos.** These are more numerous than any of the former. All the whole Earth doth swarm with them. They are of a middle size between the greatest and the least, the hinder part white and the head red. They eat and devour all that they can come at; as besides food, Cloth, Wood, Thatch of Houses and everything excepting Iron and Stone. So that the people cannot set anything upon the ground within their houses for them. They creep up the walls of their houses and build an *Arch* made of dirt over themselves all the way as they climb, be it never so high. And if this *Arch* and Vault chance to be broken, they all, how high soever they were, come back again to mend up the breach, which being finished they proceed forwards again, eating everything they come at in their way. This Vermin does exceedingly among the *Chingulays*, insomuch that they are continually looking upon anything they value to see if any of these *Vaeos* have been at it. Which they may easily perceive by this *Case* of dirt which they cannot go up anywhere without building as they go. And wherever this is seen no doubt the *Ants* are there. In places where there are no houses, and they can eat nothing belonging to the people, they will raise great Hills like *Butts*, some four or five or six foot high; which are so hard and strong that it would be work enough to dig them down with Pick-Axes.

Knox evidently took the greatest pains to make what he describes clear to his readers, and there is no doubt that his accurate and graphic method, aided by the excellent pictures, bring home to us in a most vivid fashion the customs, appearance, and domestic economy of the Siṇhalese people.

From a philological point of view the book is most interesting. We see the changes which the lapse of two

* Siṇhalese *Véyó*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

hundred years has wrought in the meaning and spelling of our English language. To illustrate this let us look at the following words which I have taken from these pages.

In the letter to the East India Company Knox speaks of "the land in which I was captivated," meaning imprisoned or held captive; it has now come to mean "entranced" or "delighted." For Knox's use of the word *cf.* Jeremiah XXXIX. (contents of the chapter: "The city ruinated, the people captivated.") and 2 Kings XVII. (contents, "Samaria for their sins is captivated").

In one passage he speaks of a certain flower as being of a "murry" colour. This is mulberry coloured, the *l* having superseded the earlier *r*: *cf.* Latin *morus*, "mulberry tree." The word "murry" is now obsolete. He also speaks of the "tingling" of bells where we should now say "tinkling." The two words "tinkling" of a bell and "tingling" of the skin or flesh are identical, the meaning being "vibration." "Ortyards and plantations": "ortyard" or "wortyard" is the original of our present "orchard." "Imbezelled," where we now write "embezzled." The old spelling shows the connection with "imbecile," and the meaning is "to weaken by taking little by little," or "filching." "A blew or red shash about their loyns." What we now call "sash" is a Persian word originally spelt, and no doubt pronounced "shash." Knox says in one place: "We thought it no boot to sit longer." "Boot," which now survives in the negative "bootless," we find in the Bible, in the form "boots" and "booteth." It is from the base "bet" good, whence "better," "best."

Of the *Bó* tree he says: "The leaves shake like an asp." The form "aspen" now used is an adjective, like "oaken" or "ashen" or "wooden," and we should not say, as is sometimes done, "shake like an aspen," but "an aspen tree"; or, as Knox says, "an asp." Of the Kandyan nobles he says: "They carry a painted cane, and sometimes a tuck in it, in their hands." "Tuck" is an obsolete word for "rapier," and "a cane with a tuck in it" is what we should now call a

"sword-stick." He also speaks of the "tricker" of a cross-bow. "Trigger" is the more modern form. With "tricker" *cf.* the Dutch "trek," to draw or pull. He speaks of the Siṉhalese as churning butter with an implement "somewhat resembling a chocolate stick." This is not the familiar stick of chocolate which you extract from the automatic machine by placing a penny in the slot, but the "whisk" with which the then highly esteemed cup of chocolate, so constantly referred to by authors of this and the succeeding age of Queen Anne, was stirred and frothed.

The word "punctually," now strictly limited in meaning to accuracy in the matter of time, is used by Knox in the old sense of "exactly" or "accurately." "I knew not punctually where my companions were." *Cf.* "punctilious," of exact, orderly, and formal behaviour. "Let" and "letted," in the sense of "hindered," "prevented," and "holpen" for "helped," which we have in our Book of Common Prayer, are always used by him; and he also uses the word "angle," meaning fishing rod and line, and thus reminds us of dear old Isaak Walton.

I cannot forbear to transcribe the passage where this word is used. It is when he meets with the Bible :—

> The Boy having served the *English* knew the Book, and as soon as he had got it in his hand came running with it calling out to me, *It is a Bible.* It startled me to hear him mention the name of a *Bible.* For I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which I flung down my Angle and went to meet him..... ... Upon the sight of it I left off Fishing, God having brought a *Fish* to me that my Soul had longed for and now how to get it and enjoy the same all the Powers of my Soul were employed.

The word "naturally," in the sense of "by nature," should be noted in the passage—

> The Land is generally covered with Woods, excepting the Kingdome of *Ouvah* and the counties of *Oudipallet* and *Dolosbaug*, which are naturally somewhat clear of them.*

"Fashion," meaning "shape," occurs in the description of the grain *tana* :—

> The fashion flattish, the colour yellow and very lovely to the Eye.

* Uva; Uḍapaláta; Doḷosbágé.

Observe "drugster" for "druggist": "The berries the drugsters in the city do sell in their shops"; and "sallettings" for "salads." "The *Dutch* on that Island in their Gardens have *Lettice*, *Rosemary*, *Sage*, and all other Herbs and Sallettings that we have in these Countreys." The old Italian word is *salata*, "salted or pickled (herbs)."

I rather distrust Knox's taste in vegetables, I must say. He speaks of one herb which "being boyled is almost as good as asparagus." I have never met with that delicious herb yet, and I take leave to doubt the assertion.

The *jambu* * fruit is to him "amiable to the eye." The expressions, "rice is more plenty here than there," and "monies was very low with us," show interesting changes in idiom.

Two words now obsolete deserve mention: one is "overthwart." Speaking of talipot leaves: "With these they make their tents; fixing sticks into the ground and laying other pieces of wood overthwart after the manner of the roof of an house, and so lay their leaves over all to shoot the rains off." The other is "tarriance," meaning sojourn or remaining. Even "tarry" is now seldom seen, and "tarriance" never.

Some changes in spelling—and there are many—are noteworthy. Hoes used in cultivating paddy fields Knox spells "houghs," no doubt pronounced hoes. *Cf.* the spelling and pronunciation of "dough" in making bread. It is odd that we have altered "hough" to "hoe," while we have altered the old "plow" to "plough," in the one case from complex to simple and in the other from simple to complex. Blue, the colour, Knox spells "blew." His spelling and the expression he uses, "several black and blew blows," bring out forcibly the actual connection there is in etymology between "blue" and "blow." Blue is the colour produced by blows.

By some freak or other Knox spells "glue" "glew,"

* Sin. *jámbara*, colloq. *jambu*, "rose apple," *Eugenia jambosa*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

which is wrong. The derivation is from "gluten." Perhaps he thought "glew" ought to keep company with "blew."

Knox never mentions any books except the three alluded to above, and I have searched his work through to find any indications of his having received an education in what is vulgarly styled "book learning." It would seem that he knew Latin, or at least knew of the existence of Latin, for he says of the Siṇhalese: "They have a language somewhat differing from the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us)"; but the only Latin words in his book are the not very erudite words "per annum," so we can hardly set him down as a Latin scholar. Or perhaps he forgot his Latin like the Claimant, the would-be Sir Roger Tichborne. He uses a few phrases which somewhat smack of the law, *e.g.*, "Scot or lot," "Hand and seal," "Heriots." But these are all I have been able to find.

He is very reticent about himself outside of his captivity. He says nothing about his birthplace, parentage, or education. All we know is that he was an Englishman, and that he had a brother and sister whom his dying father commended to his care.

He makes very few references to England, and hardly ever draws any parallel between what he saw in Ceylon and what he must have seen in England. He mentions that the divisions of Ceylon are like the counties and hundreds in England, and he speaks of one chief as the "high sheriff." He compares the king's palace to Woodstock Bower, and notes that the Siṇhalese ploughs do not bury the grass as ours do, and that is about all.

And while on this part of the subject it is curious to note that Knox nowhere in his book makes the faintest allusion to home politics, though his book was written during the time of the fiercest civil and religious persecution in England, and only a few years before the revolution which overthrew the Stuart dynasty. We know that he was not a Roman Catholic, and we can infer that he was not a Puritan, as he and his comrades mention a feast they had on Christmas Day, but we do not know whether he was an advocate of monarchy

or a Republican. He expresses his views of the Kandyan king's tyranny, but no opinion as to monarchy in general.

Although he tells us very little of what he had been, he relates frankly enough what habits he picked up during his captivity, and the appearance he presented at the time of his escape. On his arrival at Mannár he says—

> It seemed not a little strange to us who had dwelt so long in Straw Cottages among the Black Heathen and used to sit on the Ground and eat our Meat on Leaves, now to sit on Chairs and eat out of *China* Dishes at Table.

And in Colombo—

> We being bare-foot and in the *Chingulary* habit, with great long Beards, the People much wondered at us, and came flocking to see who and what we were ; so that we had a great Train of People about us as we walked in the Streets.

And Batavia—

> We finding ourselves thus kindly entertained and our Habits changed, saw that we were no more Captives in *Cande*, nor yet Prisoners elsewhere ; therefore cut off our beards which we had brought with us out of our Captivity, for until then we cut them not ; God having rolled away the reproach of *Cande* from us.

Knox adopted the Siṉhalese habit of chewing betel, and he also smoked a pipe, or, as the Siṉhalese say, "drank tobacco." I have not been able to find many Siṉhalese idioms in the English of Knox, but he does say "tobacco is used by both men and women, but more eaten than drunk in pipes." To "drink tobacco" is a literal translation from the Siṉhalese, but I am not sure that the expression was not used in England in Knox's day. I fancy I have seen it, but cannot remember where. He also speaks of "this country butter," "my own country fashion," "a fathom high," "a span high," which he may have picked up from the Siṉhalese.

Speaking of the skill of the native doctors he mentions one who would set a broken bone "with that speed that the broken bone after it was set should knit by the time one might boyl a pot of rice and three curries."

These I think are about the only Siṉhalese idioms to be found.

There is, as could be expected, very little humour in Knox's book, but I have culled two rather comical expressions and one bull, although he was no Irishman. He says of the headmen :—

> These Inferior Officers commonly get their Palaces by Bribery. Their Children do pretend a right to them after their Father's Death, and will be preferred before others, *greazing the Magistrate.*

This does not mean smearing that functionary with cocoanut oil, but, as we would punningly put it, "applying palm oil."

Again, speaking of the method of catching fish in shallow water with a basket, he says :—

> These baskets they jobb down and the ends stick in the mud, which often happen upon a Fish.

To "jobb" is now only used as pure slang. Knox's bull is only a small one: we might describe it as a "this country bull." He describes Kandy as "three *square* like a *triangle.*

In spite of his lack of education in the ordinary sense of the word, this castaway sailor lad has given us a most delightful book, which is as interesting as "Robinson Crusoe," and in style it is the equal of Defoe's masterpiece, although Defoe was what might be styled an experienced literary man, and is now an English classic.

Knox's work was favourably ushered into the world with a brief preface by Sir Christopher Wren, and a longer one by Robert Hooke, a portion of which I will quote. He says :—

> He has in this History given you a taste of his Observations, in which most Readers, though of very differing Gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The Statesman, Divine, Physician, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may select something for their Entertainment. The Philosopher and Historian much more. I believe at least all who love Truth will be pleased.....Read therefore the Book itself, and you will find yourself taken Captive indeed, but used more kindly by the Author than he himself was by the Natives.

5. His Lordship, the President, expressed the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. White for his Paper. He spoke of Knox's extraordinary accuracy of observation, and the remarkable vigour and straightforward simplicity with which his observations were recorded. They were indebted to those who directed attention to excellencies of that kind—excellencies which in a Society like that they deserved to cultivate and encourage. He rejoiced to see that close observation and careful collection of facts of which they had a specimen from Mr. Lewis, and which constituted the basis of scientific results. He trusted Members of the Society would consider no facts falling within their purview too insignificant to be recorded and contributed to the transactions of the Society. They could not always expect long or elaborate Papers, but he was sure that Members who would contribute facts which came under their observation would always find a hearty welcome from the Council for anything they could give.

6. Mr. Harward next read the following Paper :—

KURUNEGALA VISTARAYA;* WITH NOTES ON KURUNEGALA, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By F. Modder.

Introductory Note.

The *Kurunégala Vistaraya* is a topographical description of the city of *Hastisailapura* (Kurunégala) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are various editions and different versions of the *Vistaraya* extant in the Seven Kóralés, and of the half a dozen or more I have had the opportunity of examining and collating, for the purposes of this translation, no two copies agree in detail, though they agree in the main, each editor making his own emendations and additions to the original, or supposed original, as his taste and fancy led him, in the hope perhaps of making his edition fuller and more attractive than its predecessors, and bringing it up to date.

The *Vistaraya* makes no pretension to scholarship; indeed it is devoid of all literary merit, and judging by the plain and often commonplace language in which it is written, and the unsystematic arrangement of the subjects dealt with therein, it would appear that the editors were men of ordinary intelligence, their one object being to reduce into writing the legends, traditions, and other historical information respecting men, places, and things which might otherwise have been lost to the world.

As a chronological authority no importance can be attached to the work. But as an interesting topographical account of the city of *Hastisailapura*, with multifarious scraps of historical and other information not usually found in the more regular historical books of reference, it is perhaps on a par with such sister-works as *Kaḍaim-pot*, which treat of the boundaries of the ancient divisions of Ceylon, and from which a great deal of invaluable information may be gleaned; *Vitti-pot*, which describe the state of the villages in the Seven Kóralés and Puttalam District, and record the amount of paddy land cultivated in each village, the height of water in the tank, the number of dams and tracts of land, large and small, the

* Being a translation from the Siṅhalese of a description of the city of *Hastisailapura* (Kurunégala) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with a collation from other contemporaneous Siṅhalese records, and notes and comments.

number of horowwas to the tank, the number of temples and amount of land dedicated to them, and many other details peculiar to each village; and other contemporaneous records, such as *Tuḍapat*, *Patunu*, *Aṣna*, *Wansa*, *Lékam-miṭi*, &c., all which doubtless throw a flood of light on the history of the Island. The *Vistaraya*, however, gives in addition to these details the derivation of the names, not to be obtained elsewhere, of a large number of villages, *Kóralés*, and *Hatpattus* in the Seven Kóralés.

Maha Mudaliyár L. de Zoyza, in referring to the *Vistaraya*, remarks that—

It is by an anonymous author. It gives an interesting account of the topography of the city in ancient times, and is probably as old as the period when Kurunégala was the seat of kings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The work is quite unknown in the low-country, and I believe even in Kandy.*

As already observed, one manuscript contains matter not found in the other, and perhaps the edition which L. de Zoyza had access to did not disclose the name of the author: but one that I had the good fortune to read ascribes the authorship to Pusbadewa Terunnánse, and gives the following particulars as to its alleged authenticity:—

It was preserved by Heṭṭi Basnáyaka Mudiyánse when Kurunégala was a royal city; when Dambadeniya was the seat of Government, by Hanḷuwa Mudiyánse, the village being so called owing to tiles having been made there; when Sítáwaka was the seat of Government, by Seneviratna Mudiyánse; and at the time of Rája Siṅha, who defeated the Portuguese at Colombo, by Disánáyaka Mudiyánse.

TRANSLATION.†

Shortly after Kuvéni‡ was discarded by King Vijaya it is said that the royal city of Kurunégala was founded,§ the

* *Report on the Inspection of Temple Libraries.* (Sessional Paper XI., 1875, p. 10.)

† To Mr. H. M. Ekanayaka, Principal of the Buddhist School, Kurunégala, I acknowledge my indebtedness for willing assistance rendered to me in the preparation of this translation.

‡ A full account of the desertion of Kuvéni by King Vijaya is given in the *Kuvéni Aṣna*. For particulars as to her invoking the gods on the heights of *Yakdéssa-gala* (abbreviated from *Yakseni-des-ki-gala*, so called after the circumstance) to punish King Vijaya for his faithlessness, and as to her prayer being answered by King Vijaya's nephew, Páṇḍuwasa, being afflicted with divers diseases, see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégala." (C. A. S. Journal, Vol. XI., No. 40, 1890.)

§ The *Vistaraya* does not state, and we cannot gather from the context, who the founder was, but there is reason to believe that it was Vijaya.

situation being to the north of *Vilbáwa*, and occupying a central position near the rocks *Ęṭá-gala*, *Ibbá-gala*, *and Kuruminiyá-gala.**

* * * * *

[The *Vistaraya* then enumerates the trees, the beasts, the birds, including the fabulous birds, and other bipeds and quadrupeds to be found in the city; and refers to a row of lakes with good ferries to facilitate bathing, and containing pleasant and sweet waters, with the lotus and blue and white lily floating thereon. By the row of lakes is doubtless meant *Uḍawattavęwa* (the Kurunęgala tank†), *Wannahavęwa* (now a field), *Weneruvęwa*, and *Vilgoḍavęwa*.]

There are four parapet walls surrounding the rock on which the sun-god is worshipped. Four palaces stand on the rock,‡ and below it four parapet walls. For the protection of the city there is a battery (*ádhára bęmma*).§

Below *Kuruweniyagala* stands the royal stores [the dimension—probably the length—of which is given as 80 cubits]: from the sleeping palace‖ of the king it is 12 fathoms to *Kuruweniyagala*, 35 fathoms to *Ibbá-gala*, and 20 fathoms to the great stone wall [*mahá gal táppa*, probably the battery hereinbefore referred to] on the west; and 12 fathoms to the south stands the *Niráviya.*

* For derivations of these names, and legends and traditions about these rocks, with notes on temples standing thereon or connected therewith, see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunęgala." (*l. c.*)

† For a description of this tank, which is 104 acres in extent, and said to have been built in 1319 by King Bhuwaneka Báhu III., as well as for other interesting particulars regarding it and Wenneruwęwa tank, see *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. VI., pp. 380–3.

‡ Forbes, in his *Eleven Years in Ceylon* (Vol. I., pp. 193–4), refers to the remains of buildings on the bare rock (*Ęṭá-gala*), one of which contained the *daḷadá* relic removed thither by Bhuwaneka Báhu from the more ancient capital of Polonaruwa, 1319 A.D. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell (Vol. II., pp. 81–2), referring to these ruins, concludes "that they must in former days have been intended for religious purposes."

§ The *Maháwaṇsa* records that Vijaya Báhu II. "surrounded it (Hatthigiri) with a wall and a moat, and such like works."—Ch. LXXXVIII., English translation, p. 305.

‖ Referring to *Ęṭá-gala*, Casie Chitty says (*Ceylon Gazetteer*, pp. 145–6): "At the west end of the hill the kings of Kurunęgala had a palace," on the

In the city there are 300 wells (*úrá-lin*),* 500 houses of valiant and powerful ministers, 500 houses of the dancing women, 500 houses of the Brahmins, 800 houses of the dhobies, 800 houses of the potters, 700 carpenters' sheds, 4 stables for horses,† 3 stables for elephants, 2 herds of hunting buffaloes (*daḍa mîgoṇ*),‡ an aviary, a kennel, and 700 powerful skilled and trained soldiers.

The formation of the city is as a full-blown lotus placed on the palm of the hand.

site of which now stands the residence of the Government Agent of the Province, known as the Máligáwa. Tennent refers to the grounds being strewn with "fragments of columns and carved stones, the remnants of the royal buildings." (*Ceylon*, II., 345.) The disappearance of these relics of a bygone age may easily be accounted for. Bennett (p. 393) says: "Many huge slabs of granite having various animals, both known and fabulous, sculptured on them lie scattered about; of these the British lion, the Caledonian unicorn (extraordinary though it be), and the Ceylon elephant appeared to have formed part of the zoological medley of the ancient ornaments of a Siṇhalease Máligáwa. Mr. Pennel (the then Government Agent) offered me my choice of these ponderous masses, but as it may well be supposed there were weighty reasons for my not removing them." Some of these are yet to be seen built up at the back of the Máligáwa stables by the late Mr. O'Grady, Government Agent; but the most valuable ones, and particularly a stone window of the palace at Yápahu, rescued and removed thither by Mr. O'Grady, and described most graphically by the late Mr. John Bailey, C.C.S., in *Once a Week* (1864, pp. 225–281, where a well executed sketch of it appears), were transported to Colombo, and now occupy a prominent place among the archæological exhibits of the Museum.

* These wells are very common in the Kandyan district. They are circular in shape, about three feet in diameter, and instead of being built up with stone, earthen rings made by the village potter, and each about a foot and a half broad, are inserted and fitted in from the bottom of the well, increasing from two feet in diameter as they come up to the top to three feet. The earthen rings are called *úrákoṭṭa*, and the wells are known as *úrákeṭa lin*, abbreviated into *úrá lin*. The *úrákoṭṭa* help to keep the water cool, and if they could be made of larger dimensions so as to fit into wells of all sizes, they would certainly be a useful and a cheap substitue for stone. Each of the rings used at present can be made at a cost of about 37½ cents, and the cost of a well thus built would not exceed a couple of rupees.

† Two pairs of stirrups and some cooking utensils were found near the Galébaṇḍára shrine some years ago, and were sent to the Colombo Museum by the Hon. F. R. Saunders, then Government Agent. The place where they were discovered was probably the site of the royal stables, mounted orderly or cavalry guardroom.

‡ These animals were used in the manner of decoys, trained so as to allow the sportsman to take cover behind them and to shoot at the game.

To the south of the *Niráviya* is a stone-built well and an *úrá-linda.*

To the west of the sleeping palace of the king above mentioned, distant a hundred large bows, lies the bund of the lake. Round the edge of the lake grow flower plants * * [enumerated], and the lotus and lily grow in the lake, beautifying its appearance. The lake abounds with fish. Royal gardens lie around the lake * * [the plantations are enumerated] with innumerable bee-hives on the trees.

About a hundred bows' distance* from the sleeping palace is the *Daḷadá Máligáwa.*†

On the east of it, 9 fathoms distant, stands the *Náta Déválé.*

In a pit excavated in the rock, four cubits deep, lies buried a treasure consisting of 21,000 *masuran* or pieces of gold, with a relic of Buddha of the size of a grain of *undu.*

From this spot, on the opposite bank of the stream, stands the *Mahá Déválé* [probably dedicated to Vishṇu], on the west, at a distance of 60 fathoms, the *Náta Déválé*, 60 fathoms away the *Pattini Déválé*, and 80 fathoms away the *Kattaragama Déválé.*

At *Uḍa-wahala-watta* (the upper court, or queen's apartments) stands the crematory; at *Pallé-wahála*‡ (the lower court, or harem) the granaries.

* According to Pridham, nine *viyat* are equal to one *dunna* or bow—about nine English feet—and 500 *dunu* are equal to a *heṭeṭkma* or mile. *Cf.* "bowshot."

† According to the *Maháwaṇsa* King Parákrama Báhu II., son of Vijaya Báhu III., who reigned in Hastisailapura from 1240 A.D. to 1275 A.D. (Turnour), caused his brother Bhuwaneka Báhu, the sub-king, to build a large viháré in the noble city of Hatthigiri, and a beautiful *pariveṇa*, which was called *Mahá Mahinda Báhu* (chap. LXXXVII., English translation, p. 290). The remains of the royal founder were buried in the Mahá Viháre. On a visit to Hatthigiri by Vijaya Báhu II., during his father's lifetime, "he caused an excellent image-house of three stories to be built, and a great image of Buddha to be made there and the prince called it (the establishment) *Bhuwaneka Báhu Pariveṇa*, after the name of his uncle." (*l. c.*) (LXXXVIII., p. 305.) Parákrama Báhu IV., who began his reign at Kurunégala in 1295 A.D. (Turnour), "caused a three-storied temple of the tooth-relic of great beauty to be rebuilt within the courtyard of the king's palace." (*l. c.*) (XC., pp. 316-17.)

‡ Which correspond with the modern Uḍawalpola and Palléwalpola.

To the west of *Hastipura-nuwara* is "Brahmin street" (*Bamunu-vídiya*); on the east "Sand street" (*Veli-vídiya*); on the south "Street of the gods" (*Deviyó-vídiya*); on the north the "Great" or "Main street" (*Mahá-vídiya*).

The city is protected by three rocks: on the west by *Aṇgaṇ-gala*, east by *Lunukeṭiya-gala*, north by *Ándá-gala*; and (is bounded) on the south by the village *Vírabáhu gama*,* east by the village *Millowa*, and west by *Tittawèli gama*.†

There are four tanks for the use of the city: on the west *Vilgoḍa-veṿa*; south *Weneru-veṿa*, *Uḍawatta-veṿa*, and *Wanahá-veṿa*, near the city; on the north-west *Dévagomuwa*; on the west *Wanakuta-paruwata*—all which surround the city.

The principal royal villages *(gabadá-gam)* are—

Habáge, 350 amunams paddy sowing extent—(inclusive of) the royal village *Baṇḍáraketa* of 25 amunams.
Vilbáwa, of 35 amunams.
Nayiliya, of 33 amunams.
Deṃbeṭpola, of 12 amunams.
Millowa, of 12 amunams.
Meṣsagammana, of 65 amunams.

Of the 350, total number of villages, there are 12 royal villages belonging to the *gamwasan paṇgu*—

Maraḷuwáwa, of 65 amunams.‡
Bamunugedara, of 65 amunams.
Dévagomuwa, of 20 amunams.§

* Modern *Vilbáwa*, and once a royal city, known as *Vilbá-nuwara*. The Pretender in the rebellion of 1817–18 is said to have been a native of this village. There is a Buddhist temple here, which is largely resorted to by people of the district. *Ándimálé*, a metrical composition, speaks of the king who reigned here, and Mr. H. Parker informs me that in the course of his reading he met with a reference to Kásyapa as a ruler of this city.

† Tittáwélla. A *Kadaimpota* gives the dimensions of the city as 6 *yodunu* in length, 3 in breadth, and 6 in circumference, and states that it had 10,000 villages within it. Four slabs of rock marked the limits, surrounded by Eṭá, Ándá, and Wanagiriya rocks. Within the city were a college, a tank, a row of palaces, with which the city was adorned, and the city itself was sufficient to contain the inhabitants of a kingdom.

‡ Now a *viháré gama*.

§ Modern Veṿagedara.

Siyambalàṅgomuwa, of 65 amunams.
Bissówapattuwa (a tract).
Tittawella, of 65 amunams.
Tittawella Illukpitiya, of 25 amunams.
Bandáraketa, about 7 amunams.
Kalohagedara, of 12 amunams.*
This side of Kalohagedara, *Handapándunna* (evidently so called owing to a moon and bow carved on the rock), 12 amunams.
Bordering *Diggala*, 12 amunams.
Bamunugama.—A Brahmin village on the west of Kurunégala, 5 amunams.

Below it, on the banks of the Maguru-oya, is [the pond] *Kunan-eba*, so called owing to the royal palanquin having been buried there. From this *eba*, proceeding the distance of a mile, is *Ran-munda-wala*, so called from the gold ring [of the king probably] having fallen in and been lost here. Below *Kimbukoṭuwa* is a stone bridge. To the south of the sleeping palace of the king, *Níra-doḷosbágé*. To the west thereof a stone-built well.† On the summit of *Eṭá-gala* a stone-built pond. This side of *Hunupola* there is a stone-built well.‡ These were the three places at which the king had his warm baths.

Inside the cave of the city rock there is carved the figure of a Veddá boy holding a bow in each hand. In the cave in which this figure is carved are to be found 20,000 *masuran*, pieces of gold coin.

On the top of the wall on the summit of *Eṭá-gala* is found the seat, like unto that of King Ṣakraya.

Ibbá-gala Viháré was founded by Vídiya Rája.

Eṭá-gala Viháré by Devenipetissa. That Viháré was endowed with 3 amunams of paddy land, garden, and houses. On the stone at the threshold of that viháre, with Pusbadewa Terunnánse, five hundred (priests) attained Rahatship.

* Now a blacksmiths' village.

† Probably the well at Polattapitiya, from which a large section of the townsfolk draw their supply of drinking water.

‡ This may be identical with *Rájapihilla*, or "the King's spout," on the Kandy road, the sole structural remnant of the royal city. It has been built up, and is a favourite public bath, and supplies drinking water to the town. The road leading to the bath is called after it.

Aṇgaṇ-gala Viháré, which is to the west of the city, was endowed with *Kaḷuwakoṭuwa*, consisting of 7 amunams, as well as with the land which lies below the stone pillar on the east and below and above *Mutu-pokuru-gala*, and out of *Veḅoḍa*, 3 amunams.

Uḍattapola, of 12 amunams, was assigned to those who performed the office of conch-blowers to the city, as also *Habágé*, 12 amunams.

The following villages were required to supply salted meat (*heli-mas-dena-gam*) to the city :—*Yakalla*, *Doraṇapola*, and *Ibbágomuwa*.

The following villages to supply dried meat (*poḷumas-dena-gam*):—*Maḍawa* and *Mehiyalla*.

The following villages to supply salt (*lunu-dena-peta-villi-gam*) :—*Teliyagonna* and *Mallawapiṭiya*.

The following villages to supply the royal stores with trunks, winnows, baskets, beds, and chairs :—*Ahugoḍa* and *Mayila*.

The following villages to supply fresh milk (*huṇ-kiri*) :—*Heraliyavela*, *Malkaḍuveḅwa*, *Yaṭavehera*, *Ketamuna*, *Aṭakahavela*, *Neṃbilikumbura*, and *Kóṇgahagedara*.

Close to the city under the stone pillar standing in the *galveṭiya* (stone fence), on which is carved the figure of a woman, lay buried 15,000 *masuran*. There are also the pictorial representations of four lions and four elephants.

Navaratṇa Maṇḍapaya was built by Boyagena Navaratṇe Mudiyánse, and Weneruveḅwa by Pusbadeḅva Terunvahánse. These two meritorious works were performed on the same day. Treasures consisting of golden beds, chairs, flags, spittoons, rings, pearls, and gems were buried (in the tank) at the depth of a *nul-palama*. By the power of the gods these treasures are invisible.

To expiate the sin committed by the burial of Appuhámi of Boyagena [as a *billa* offering for the breach in the bund of the tank], the king built *Galapiṭa Viháré* at a cost of 15,000 *masuran*. On the rock on the bund an alms-offering

was given to the priests of the viháré, which was dedicated to the priesthood.*

Between the Kurunégala tank and *Wanahá-vewa* were the royal pinfold and dairy.

Above *Kudáveva* were the stables for the horses.

In *Yántanpalawa* were the stables for the elephants.

At *Kavudáwatta* was the stabling for the trained hunting buffaloes.

At *Ritigasyáya* the palanquin-bearers resided.

The villages assigned to supply jaggery to the city were *Indulgodakanda*, *Moratenna*, *Gabbala*, *Parapé*, and *Hinguruwaka*, lying close to each other.

The following marked the gravets of the city :—*Kayikávala*, lying below *Heraliyavala*, *Pilikada*, *Maraluwákada*, *Úrupákada*, *Kalohagedara*, *Galapitagala*, *Kolamune-oya*, *Mivewa*, *Wadakada* [*Kadawata*].

To the four blacksmiths who accompanied King Vijaya were granted the following villages :—*Kadupitiya*, *Kammaltota*, *Natandúwa*, *Vewagama*, *Timmagama*, *Ayuwandana*, and *Hénégedara*.

The following (*toyil-gam*) were the villages assigned to the tom-tom beaters :—*Lindepitiya*, *Poramulla*, and *Talaotuwa*.

The following (*radá-gam*) to the dhobies :—*Hangawatta* and *Radápola*.

The following (*badahela-gam*) to the potters :—*Badahela-gama* and *Budanapitiya*.

Kónpola is so called owing to a hut having been built on a *kón* tree, living in which the original inhabitants founded the village.

* Tradition has it that the bund of the Kurunégala tank could never be kept in repair. The only way in which it could be done was by offering a *billa*, the sacrifice of a life. Appuhámi volunteered to give his life on condition that the king would raise his son to an Adigárship. The king having assented, Appuhámi was placed in the breach and buried alive, since when it is said the bund has not given way. In addition to the rank, money and lands, as well as the *pata-bendi* name of Navaratna, were bestowed on this officer. The effect of the *billa* must have passed away, for in 1877, in the course of certain repairs, the bund burst, and much damage was done to property by the flow of water.

King Vijaya bestowed the following villages on his ministers:—*Kónpola*, *Tiregama*, and *Damunugoḍa*.*

To the shield-bearer, Paliya Mohoṭṭála, was assigned the village *Paliyagama*, so called after the shield.

To the sword-bearer was assigned the village which is called after him, *Kaḍugampola*.†

To the Brahmins who accompanied the king, to one was granted the village *Bamunákoṭuwa*, to another *Bamunussa*, to a third *Divulgaspiṭiya*, and to a fourth *Bamunávela*.

To Heṭṭi Basnáyaka Mudiyánse was assigned the village *Uḍadigena*, which lies to the west of Kurunégala.

Lying below it, *Erabuduliya*, was given to Baṇḍára.

Doraṭiyáwa was bestowed on Vijayapála Mudiyánse.‡

To Navaratna Mudiyánse the village *Boyagena* was given.

Akaragena to Akaragena Baṇḍára.

Millowa to the Adigár.

Galgomuwa to Galgomuwa Mudiyánse.

Mábópiṭiya to the Haluwaḍana Nilame.

A king named Vijaya reigned in Hastipura during the time of Kakusanda Buddha, the said city lying at a distance of 400 gaws from Siṇhapura. During the time of Konágama Buddha this city was also ruled by Vijaya. During the time of Kásyapa Buddha also was this city ruled by a Vijaya, as well as in the time of Gautama Buddha. On account of this circumstance Kurunégala becomes, comparatively, the principal city of the thirty-five capitals in the Island of Laṅká.

* * * * *

* The soil in all these villages is very fertile, there is a superabundance of water; but the present inhabitants are of the *Beruvaya* and *Cháliya* castes.

† Modern Kaṭugampola, after which a Hatpattuva and a Kóralé take their names.

‡ This was the founder of the Doraṭiyáwa family. During the rebellion of 1848, Doraṭiyáwa Raṭémahatmeyá of the Hiriyála hatpattu, a lineal descendant of the first-named chieftain, captured the Pretender, and was presented by the Government with a gold medal and chain for his meritorious services. For particulars see *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. VI., p. 110.

[Here follows an enumeration of the villages which formed the three divisions of the Kingdom Máya, Ruhuṇa, and Pihiṭi, and of the wealth of which Vijaya became possessed during his reign.]

To Vîra Báhu, the son of Kuvéni, was assigned the village *Vîrabáhu*,* and to his daughter the village *Talkota*.

After reigning twenty-eight years he went to heaven.

* * *

[Then follows a list of the successors of Vijaya, and the periods during which they reigned. These are inconsistent, and appear fabulous when compared with the chronology supplied by the *Maháwaṇsa*, *Rájawaliya*, or *Rájaratnákaraya*.]

Bhuwaneka Báhu entrusted to his son the kingdom as well as the subjects. On the seventh day thereafter he died. On the son by the Queen of Meḍakeṭiya† [a woman of the harem, *yakaḍa-doliya*, *cf. raṇ-doliya*], he bestowed his wealth, in consequence of which circumstance the prince was called *Vastuhimi Kumáraya*.‡

Eight hundred and ninety-five rulers reigned in Kurunḗgala: thirty kings by the name of Tissa, thirty by the name of Báhu, and thirty by the name of Sinha.§

Vastuhimi was massacred, and the prince who was at *Kaḷundáwa* was installed in sovereignty under the title of Paṇḍita

* Modern Vilbáwa. The present incumbent of the temple says that the name of the village is derived from the half-moon-shaped pond—*vil-bẹwa*—which lies a short distance from the temple.

† Other accounts give Asseduma as the native village of this woman.

‡ Or *Vathima Kumáraya*, as he is sometimes called, was the Muhammadan usurper, who was hurled headlong from the top of Eṭá-gala by his dissatisfied ministers and killed. At the spot where his mangled corpse is said to have fallen stands the *Galébaṇḍára* shrine, which was erected to his memory by his co-religionists. *Vathima Lane*, which leads to the shrine, is called after him. For further particulars see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunḗgala." There is a picture of *Vathima* on one of the walls of the Úrupákaḍa temple.

§ This certainly looks fictitious compared with more authentic history.

Parákrama Báhu, and he removed the seat of Government to Dambadeṇiya.*

In Hastipura there were 700 sculptors, 700 masons, 800 dhobies, 900 elephants, 12,000 Tamils, 12,000 Siṅhalese, 24,000 officers, 75,000 ministers, all of whom left Kurunḗgala and settled at Dambadeṇiya, there living in glory like that of Ṣakra Devéndra. The king departed this life having reigned twenty-two years.

Kurunḗgala is derived from the fact of the settlement of the people of *kúru-raṭa*, who were known as *Kuruvitinayó*.†

* * * * *

[Here follows a description of *Muṇḍakoṇḍapola*, the city in which Prince Irugal Baṇḍára reigned. As its history is so identified with that of Kurunḗgala, most of the villages which formed the ancient principality being now part and parcel of the modern District of Kurunḗgala, a translation of the account is inserted here.]

The principal villages surrounding the city (*Muṇḍakoṇḍapola*), royal villages :—

Bógoḍa, assigned to the Adigar.
Palawahala.
Naṭagena, the village of Mahá Teruṇvahánsa.‡
Kḕdapátvehera, assigned to the person who held the looking-glass (*kḕdapota*) to the king. The village was given to Kandégedara Mudiyánse.
Rukattana, 25 amunams, to the Mudaliyárs (*Mudelipéru*).
Uḍakatura, 20 amunams.
Yaṭikatura, 12 amunams.§
Navagatta, 12 amunams.
Sivalogedara, 20 amunams.
Hunukumbura, 12 amunams.

* The *Kaḷundá Paṭuna* refers at length to this interesting incident and to the circumstances under which the legal heir to the throne, like "Cincinnatus awful from the plough," was made king. The *Paṭuna* is a metrical composition, of which the author is said to be a poet of Miṭeṇvela. A translation of nearly the whole of it is given in "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunḗgala."

† For other derivations see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunḗgala."

‡ On the hill the ancient city stood. The village is now a *vihárégama*.

§ Modern Uḍakadura and Yaṭikadura.

Irugal Baṇḍára was so called owing to his having been born by the queen who was born out of the flower *Dunuké-mala* growing in the garden *Dunuké-watta*, and begotten of the Sun.

*Kirimuna** received its name from the circumstance of milk having flowed out of the rock standing in that village for the use of the child.

Mahákeliya, formerly *Manakiriya*.

Irugal Baṇḍára lived on *Naṭagenakanda*.

Devagedara is so called from the construction of the tank.

The Prince Idirimána Kumáraya resided at *Bógoḍa*.

Palanay Kumáraya above *Kelimuna*.

Irugal Baṇḍára, whilst reigning at *Muṇḍakoṇḍapola-nuwara*, sent for his mother, the queen, who was in Kurunégala, and having stopped the Sun in its course, an alms-giving was made, when Navagattarála, by the aid of the trained soldiers, massacred Irugal Baṇḍára, who fell a victim to their sword.† Owing to this circumstance the people of Dewameda are considered disloyal.

The event was commemorated by the erection of a stone pillar, which was intended as a sign to prohibit the employment of men of this district in the service of the court.

The Navagatta man was tried and hanged for this demeanour at Rukattana. Of his accomplices, the Dikvehera man was impaled, the Ratkaravuwa man was tied to two posts brought near to each other, and torn asunder by the cords which bound the posts being severed.

Since then Muṇḍakoṇḍapola has been abandoned.

* Modern Kelimuna.

† Irugal Baṇḍára was a powerful and independent prince, and tradition says that the king was jealous of the power and influence exercised by him. Accordingly a band of ruffians was employed to assassinate him. While the prince was preparing to bathe in the tank near *Baṇḍárakoswatta* he was slain by one of the assassins with his own sword. The head on being severed is said to have fallen on the rock, which formed part of the bund, and the rock was rent asunder. Owing to the circumstance the rock is called *Pattaragala*. *Baṇḍárakoswatta* (which Casie Chitty translates as ' the king's jak tree grove ") was the place where Robert Knox and his father lived until the latter died.

The royal fields which were cultivated for King Vijaya out of the kingdom were—

Ilukpiṭiya keta.
Habágé keta.
Talampiṭiya keta.
Ilukvela keta.
Pilessa Idirimárayinne keta.
Ilukwela Kaliṅgu Rajjuruwange keta.
Wattawallala Pitima Rajjuruwange keta.
Úrugala Duṭugamunu Rajjuruwange keta.
Gampola keta.
Doḷosbágé keta.
Paṇḍuwasa Rajjuruwange keta.
Dḛdigomatissa Rajjuruwange keta.
Vihinawe Dambadeṇi Rajjuruwange keta.
HaragomaGurudeṇiya Parákama Báhu Rajjuruwange keta.

[Reference is then made to the number of fields in the *Tri-siṇhala*, or three ancient divisions of the Island, Pihiṭi, Ruhuṇu, and Máya, the extent covered by oyas, tanks, rocks, and forests, the lands submerged by inundations. The derivation of the divisions are given as follows : *Ruhuṇu-raṭa* was so called owing to the earth (*ruhunu-pas*) found there ; *Máya-raṭa* owing to the great wisdom and subtility of the inhabitants ; and *Pihiṭi-raṭa* owing to the sacred *bó*-tree having been planted there.]

Kurunégala stands in the centre of these divisions.

Hiriyála derives its name owing to *hiriyal** having been found in the tract.

Dewamḛda, owing to its situation between the Dḛduru-oya and the Maguru-oya.†

* *Hiriyal* is sulphuret of arsenic, *Arsenicum auripigmentum*. It is of a reddish-yellow colour, and is largely used by the natives in painting. *Sádilingam*, vermilion, or mercury sulphide, which occurs native as cinnabar, the chief ore of mercury, is also used by natives for painting images. The *hiriyal* is sprinkled over the vermilion to give it a gloss. Both these substances are sold in the native bazaars. (*Magazine of the School of Agriculture*, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 17.) *Hiriyála* gives the name to a Hatpattuva.

† Dewamḛdi Hatpattuva is said to have been so called owing to its originally lying between the Dḛduru and Maguru oyas ; but since the re-division of the Seven Kóralés, only a portion of it is included by these rivers. According to a *Kaḍaim-pota*, sixteen stone pillars, with figures of parrots carved on them, marked the limits of this division.

Kaṭugampola [originally *Kaḍugampola*], from the fact of the district having been granted to the person who bore the king's sword.

Piṭigal, owing to *hál-piṭṭi* (rice flour) having been found in the crevices in the rock.*

Giratalan, owing to an arecanut cutter *(giraya)* having been made and presented by the people to King Vijaya on the occasion of his visit thither.

Owing to the two *duna* trees growing in the field it received the name of *Duna-gaha-pattuva.*

[*Siyaṇé Kóralé* was so called owing to 100 persons having assembled and held a marriage festival.

Aḷút-kúruva, after the settlement of the new people from the Solirata brought by Gaja Báhu after his victory.†

Paraṇa-kúruva, on account of the residence of the old inhabitants there.]

Hewawisé, from the fact of 20 soldiers having been sent to settle there by King Gaja Báhu.

* A *Kaḍaim-pota* gives the following interesting particulars: A husbandman possessing much power, in the hope of becoming a great man, thought within himself of raising an eminence by heaping up paddy, upon which he intended to build a palace, to command a view of the sea and the ships and boats sailing thereon. With this object he constructed irrigation works, cultivated large tracts of paddy land, and having collected the paddy, heaped it up in the shape of a high rock. He ordered his son to go to the summit, and asked him whether he could see the ocean and the sailing of ships. The son, fearing lest he would lose the heap of paddy, ascended to the top and replied that he could not, although he actually could see the ocean. The father, enraged at the disappointment, kicked down the heap, which was scattered all over the face of the country. The paddy, which had decayed and become reduced to flour (*piṭi*), having been found strewn on the meadows and rocks (*gal*), the country *Piṭigal-raṭa* was so called.

† In the reign of Waṉkanásika Tissa, 110 A.D., an incursion was made by the Malabars, headed by the king in person, who carried away 12,000 Siṉhalese as slaves to Mysore. Gaja Báhu, 113 A.D., avenged the outrage by invading the Soli, or Chola, country with an expedition which sailed from Jaffnapatam, and brought back not only the rescued Siṉhalese captives but also a multitude of Solians, whom the king established in various parts of the Island. (Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. I., pp. 396–7; *Rájawaliya*, p. 229; Turnour's *Epitome*, &c., p. 21.)

Gantihé, from the fact of 30 captives of Gaja Báhu having settled there.

Vihinawa, owing to the 29 settlers.

Hatalispaha, owing to the settlement of 45 captives.

Visideké, of 22 captives.

Kaṭuwana Gandaha, of 10 captives.

[*Tumpané*, of three fifties of the captives; *Hewaheṭa*, of 60 soldiers; and *Ganhatara*, of 4 captives.]

Kamuttu-gedara, from the fact that the last man of the captives settled there.

[*Hárasiyapattu*, from the fact that each of the *pattus*, or divisions, having formed the settlement of 100 captives.

Mátalé, owing to a large gang of the captives having been sent thither.]

Kalágama, owing to the creeper, *Kalávẹla*, over which the embankment was built.

[*Sivuru-pattuwa*, owing to the residence of a great number of priests.]

The 700 followers of King Vijaya* formed 700 villages round the city of Kurunégala.

Those who came with Paṇḍuwasa formed 900 villages. In the time of Paṇḍukábhaya 1,000 villages were formed. In the time of King Muṭasíva 3,000 villages.

During the time of King Gatanaissa, in the three divisions *(Tri Siṇhala)* 4,000 villages were formed.

In the time of Devanipẹtissa buffaloes were brought from the continent of India. These were put into folds at *Konpola*.

Miṭẹnvela belongs to the Palléwahala.

Yakakaḍamarakaḍa are the villages bestowed on the Dissáwa appointed for the district.

Talampiṭiya, *Parabẹbila*, *Hawḷuwa*, *Vihinamaya*, *Diya-*

* Magul Kóralé, a division of the Vanni hatpattu, at present subdivided into Magul Opata and Magul Mẹdagandahaya Kóralés, according to tradition received its name, which implies "the country of marriage," on account of the seven hundred noblemen who accompanied King Vijaya to the Island having celebrated their marriage in this part of the country. (Casie Chitty's *Gazetteer*, p. 157.)

dora, and *Unnaliya* belonged to the Bissowa Baṇḍára, the queen born of the *dunuké* flower.

*Galboḍagama** and *Veṭwagama* were given to the Adigárs on their appointment.

The following are the names of the principal villages and of the chiefs who were appointed to guard the king and the city :—

Millowa Mudiyánse
Doraṭiyáwa Mudiyánse
Bóyagena Navaratṇa Mudiyánse
Akaragané Baṇḍára
Bamunáwala Mudiyánse
Tittawella Mudiyánse
Bammunussa Mudiyánse
Baḍalowa Kuruppu Mudiyánse
Ratkarawa Mudiyánse
Wegolla Hewanannaha
Minheṭṭiya Mudiyánse
Pepalawela Hittihámi
Kidapola Mudiyánse
Galgomuwa Mudiyánse
Mapagomuwa Mudiyánse
Bamunugedara Mudiyánse
Raṇgoma Mudiyánse
Raṇawana Mudiyánse
Mohoṭṭowa Mudiyánse
Rukattana Mudiyánse
Etanawatta Mudiyánse
Demaṭaḷuwa Mudiyánse
Divulgaspiṭiya Mudiyánse
Kaḷugomuwa Mudiyánse
Galatombuwa Mudiyánse Baṇḍára
Kaṭupiṭiya Mámpe Dissáwa
Káriyapperuma Mudiyánse
Habágé Eṭágala Patirineḥé
Habágé Adikári Mudiyánse
Vilgoḍa Hiṭṭihami

The chief of these is Alakéśwara Mudiyánse.

* * * * *

[Here follows the particulars as to the authenticity of the work, which are quoted in the Introduction.]

From each Eṭkanda and Aṇgaṇgala Vihárés, 500 priests assembled at the *póya gé* for convocation; and owing to the bell which was hung to invite the priests to the dining hall, *Geḍigépattuwa* was so called, and adjoins *Uḍawahalawatta-vela.*

The pond on Ibbágala was named *Veṭakeyiyá-pokuṇa*, owing to the *veṭakeyiyá* trees growing there.

The pond on Eṭá-gala was called *Avusadha-pokuṇa*, from the fact of the medicinal plants and creepers growing in it.

Thus ends the "Description of Kurunégala" (*Kurunégala Vistaraya*).

* Now a Duraya village, famous for the fertility of its fields and the site of the Polgahawela railway station.

KURUNÉGALA: ANCIENT AND MODERN.

Unlike other cities and royal capitals of a by-gone age, with—

> Temples, palaces, and piles stupendous,
> Of which the very ruins are tremendous,

there is nothing to indicate or even suggest that the modern town of Kurunégala was once the seat of kings. Time's effacing finger seems to have obliterated almost every vestige, and written the word "Ichabod" on every part of this once romantic imperial capital. It has passed away—

> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Leave not a wreck behind.

But for the natural landmarks, such as *Eṭá-gala*, *Ibbá-gala*, and *Kuruminiyá-gala*, in the neighbourhood of which it is said "the noble city of Hatthigiri lay," it would be impossible to identify even the site which it occupied upwards of seven hundred years ago.

Judging by the physical bounds given in the *Vistaraya*, and the length, the breadth, and the circumference assigned thereto by *Kaḍaim-pot*, the city and its immediate surroundings must have embraced an area at least ten times that which is now covered by the modern town, recalling to mind the well-known lines of Coleridge :—

> So twice five miles of fertile ground
> With walls and towers were girdled round :
> And there were gardens bright, and sinuous rills,
> Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree ;
> And here were forests ancient as the hills,
> Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

Nowhere can be found a description of the city and its palaces, but an adequate idea may be formed of the magnificence and splendour which characterised the city from the graphic account which the *Maháwaṇsa* (Chapter LXXXV., vv. 62 and 63) records of some of the temples.

These temples evidently stood in the courtyard of the royal city, but none of the descriptions given in the *Vistaraya* or *Maháwaṇsa* apply to the viháré now standing at the foot of *Ẹtá-gala* or to that on *Ibbá-gala*, the building of which tradition assigns to pious King Devánampiyatissa, and in whose precincts there is a copy of the *Ṣripáda*, said to have been made to accommodate a princess who could not undertake the pilgrimage to Adam's Peak to worship at the original; nor do they apply to those at Wandurá-gala, Vilbáwa, Úrupákaḍa, or Maraḷuwáwa.

While the *Vistaraya* refers to the heterodox déwálés, the *Maháwaṇsa* makes mention of the orthodox viháré which raised their sacred fanes within the *enceinte* of the city—a system which prevails to the present day, by which those edifices are built in close contiguity, and within the same enclosure.*

The greater portion of the modern town was evidently the site of the royal palaces, which doubtless stood on the *Máligáwa* grounds and the Kachchéri premises, the sleeping palace of the king being only twelve fathoms from Kuruweniyagala; and the upper and lower courts, Uḍa and Pahalawahala, being identical with the modern Uḍawalpola and Palléwalpola; while the site of the majority of the temples might fairly be assigned to the modern Polattapiṭiya; but alas!—

> Where holy ground begins, unhallowed end
> Is marked by no distinguishable line:
> The turf unites, the pathways intertwine.

Judging by the lay of the land, it is quite possible that the waters of the Kurunẹgala tank submerged all the marsh lying between the Dambulla road and high ground above the modern tennis courts in the *Máligáwa* premises. There was a high bank along the line now taken up by Sharpe Road and a portion of Rájapihilla Road, which probably in days gone by formed the basis of an embankment or stone wall.

* *Oriental Monachism*, Chap. XXIX.

The removal of the seat of Government to Dambadeṇiya in 1346, and the gradual desertion of Kurunégala by the nobles and chiefs, who assembled at the new capital, reduced the city of Hatthigiri to ruins, its villages to desolation, and its cultivated lands to wilderness and jungle, the population dwindling down to a handful of *Durávós.**

From the necessities of their position neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch saw much of the interior of the Island, much less that portion of it known as the Kandyan Provinces, and discouraged travellers of other nations from visiting or describing it. So that Kurunégala lay buried in its insignificance, not even receiving a passing notice from that veracious chronicler Robert Knox, who, as well ashis father, was a captive in the district, and the latter of whom died and was buried at Baṇḍárakoswatta. It remained in that humble condition until the memorable year 1815, when the Union Jack was hoisted at Kandy, and the establishment of the British dominion in the interior was proclaimed by the cannon of the city, and Kurunégala was once more selected as the next place of importance to the mountain capital.

The military records of 1815 are unfortunately not forthcoming, but there is abundant evidence to show that shortly after the Kandyan Convention Kurunégala was created a military post.

One of the earliest structures in Kurunégala during the time of the British was the *Cantonment.* Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was Commandant at Kurunégala and Judicial Agent of the Seven Kóralés, and devotes nearly the whole of the second volume of his work to his experiences in the district, describes the Cantonment as—

> Built in the form of a square. In outward appearance the houses and bungalows are very like neat comfortable thatched cottages, and afford much better accommodation than I had cared for. The Commandant's house and offices occupy one side of the square, and have gardens behind them laid out with great neatness and regularity

* Casie Chitty's *Gazetteer*, pp. 145–8. [Kurunégala, as the capital, was bandoned for Gampola about A.D. 1347.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]

by my predecessors in the command of the district. There are several good-sized rooms in the house, all upon the ground-floor. * * * The other sides of the square are occupied by the houses of the officers and troops, guard-house, &c. At a short distance from the contonment there is a bazaar.*

The exact site of the cantonment cannot be determined upon, but such data as "the rocky mountains rising abruptly and close to the cantonment," and the existence of "Parade Street," point to the conclusion that it lay in the vicinity of, or at least the greater part of it covered the grounds now occupied by, the Judge's quarters and the timber depôt.

The Kachchéri (at least the nucleus which has since been enlarged and improved into the present substantial and commodious structure) was doubtless contemporary with the cantonment. In 1848 the rebels, whilst endeavouring to break open the vault, which is said to have contained £1,500, were surprised by the troops from Kandy under Lieutenant Annesly. The marks of the axes used by the rebels are still to be seen on the door-shutters of the vault.

The Máligáwa was in building in the time of Campbell on the very spot where of old stood the palace of the kings. The present structure with its appurtenances was erected on the old site in 1880. The grounds, which are well laid out, remind one of an English park.

Wesleyan Chapel.—Shortly after Campbell's arrival at Kurunégala the troops were busy constructing a temporary place of worship for Europeans, which it was thought would answer until a permanent chapel was constructed. Sir Edward Barnes, Governor, on a visit to Kurunégala, gave permission for the erection of a mission school and chapel on—

A piece of rising ground, about 600 feet in circumference, in the centre of the population, and surrounded on all sides by public roads.

The site is further described as—

Half encircled with tremendous rocks, which are clothed with verdure in most places to the very summit, and often saluted by clouds. Their bases are covered with mighty forests to the edge of

* *Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sports in Ceylon*, Vol. II., pp. 5, 6.

the town, which is bounded on the other side by fine rice fields and some of the most beautiful gardens, producing all kinds of vegetables and flowers.

The building with the view it commanded is thus described:

A road only separates our garden from the great rock behind it, which is a delightful shelter in some seasons, and always a beauty. The front of the building is quite open, and commands a view of the whole cantonment across a small valley. The two sides of the house command the most enchanting view of near and distant mountains, fields, and woods. From the front of the house the garden lies on a slope, and is bounded by another new road.

The chapel was in the centre of the principal buildings, with rooms at each end, and the whole was finished in the best style and kept in the neatest order. The entire cost was Rds. 3,300. The chapel was opened on the 20th of December, 1821, by the Rev. Mr. McKenney, who preached an impressive sermon from Matt. vi., 16, "Thy Kingdom come." The Rev. Robert Newstead was the incumbent. By successive grants the mission premises extended to 321 ft. by about 200 ft. in the widest part. In 1829 Kurunégala was struck off the roll of the Wesleyan Mission, and the premises sold to Government to be utilised as a court-house, reserving its use for divine service whenever required.*

The chapel evidently stood just above the present Police Court, and a venerable almond tree towers over, and almost covers with its outstretching branches, the site which the chapel and mission house once occupied. At present only a few scanty remnants of the foundation are visible, while the cocoanuts planted by the Rev. Mr. Newstead are now stately palms. There was a quaint slab of rock in the burial ground on the Kandy road, with the inscription "ZION HOUSE, 1821," which doubtless formed part of the doorway of the chapel.

The Mosque, at the corner of the new road to the tank, as well as *St. Ann's* Roman Catholic Church, is coeval with the Wesleyan Chapel, and is referred to by Casie Chitty. During

* *Hardy's Jubilee Memorials*, pp. 146–8.

the rebellion of 1848 the panic-stricken townsfolk took refuge in the latter place, which, strange to say, was not entered by the rebels.

The other buildings are of comparatively recent date.

The Wesleyans were allowed a plot of land 100 ft. by 90 ft. on the Kandy road to be used as a burial ground. After the mission was abandoned it was used by Christians of other denominations. It contains two interesting tombstones, one to the memory of Capt. Alex. McBean (ob. February 8, 1821, æt. 40 years), who was Agent of Government of Pahala-dolospattu, Seven Kóralés, with modified jurisdiction under the 35th clause of the Proclamation of 1819, under superintendence of the Agent of Government of the Seven Kóralés; and the other to the memory of Margaret (ob. March 4, 1824, æt. 49), wife of Major Andain, Her Majesty's 16th Regiment, Commandant at Kuruṇégala. This burial ground was closed in 1868.*

The charm of the town of Kuruṇégala lies in the unusual beauty of its position, resting as it does within the shade of *Ęté-gala*, or the elephant rock, from which it derives its name. It has passed through manifold vicissitudes. Anon a royal city, it crumbled into the dust of a village of Durávós, then elevated into the capital of a Province; it continues daily to rise in importance, and with the inestimable benefits of railway extension, it is beyond all doubt that the pride of a fabled splendour of a descent from the Sun, or a kindred relation to the Lion, is fast vanishing into the true glory, the real prosperity, and the solid advantages, commercial, moral, and intellectual, which the Kandyan Provinces have derived from their union with the British Crown.

7. On the motion of the Hon. Mr. Swettenham, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie, the writers of the Papers were accorded a vote of thanks.

8. The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair, moved by the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.

* For further particulars see *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. iv., pp. 13, 14.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 5, 1893.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.

F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.

J. Harward, G. A. Joseph } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 8, 1893.

2. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Resident Members of the Society :—

(1) A. M. Perera, Superintendent of Minor Roads, Kandy.
Nominated by T. B. Yatawara and K. D. C. Seneviratne.

(2) O. Collett, Planter, Bin-oya, Watawala.
Nominated by G. Joseph and J. Harward.

3. Laid on the table letters from the Secretary of the Gordon Technical College, Geelong (dated June 5, 1893), and from the Director of the University of the State of New York (dated May 8, 1893), calling for exchanges of publications.

Resolved,—That both institutions be thanked for their kind offers, and that (1) the Gordon Technical College be informed that the Society's publications are not likely to be of interest to them ; (2) and that the Library of the State of New York be asked to buy the publications, and that a list of them be sent.

4. Considered a suggestion of Mr. Harward's "That the Society should offer an annual prize to encourage the study of the classical languages of the East in Ceylon schools."

After some discussion, on a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. Swettenham, it was decided that the matter do stand over for future consideration.

5. Considered the advisability of altering Rule 18 so as to constitute four Members as a quorum of the Council.

Resolved to give notice at the next General Meeting of this proposal.

6. Laid on the table copy of printed card issued to Members notifying date and business of next General Meeting to be held on the 11th instant.

Resolved,—That the Council approves of the date fixed and the business as notified.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 11, 1893.

Present :

Sir E. Noel Walker, K.C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President.

H. Hay Cameron.
W. E. Davidson.
Dr. S. Fernando.
Dr. W. G. Keith.
Justice A. C. Lawrie.
Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
W. P. Raṇasinha.
F. C. Roles.
E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Hon. F. R. Saunders, C.M.G.
H. F. Tomalin.

J. Harward
G. A. Joseph } Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors :—Nine ladies and eighteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 8, 1893.

2. Notified the election of the following Members since the last General Meeting :—

O. Collett.
A. M. Perera.

3. Mr. Harward (Honorary Secretary) gave notice that at the next Meeting it will be proposed that four Members constitute a quorum of the Council, instead of five, and that it will be moved that rule 18 be altered accordingly.

4. The following Paper was read by the writer :—

THE EPIC OF PARAKRAMA.

By the Right Reverend R. S. COPLESTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Colombo, *President*.

THE Paper which I have the honour to read requires some apology in this learned Society, as being concerned not with research, but only with criticism ; yet the importance of the passage of literature which is my subject may, I hope, justify my attempt to place it before you in a popular light. For the history of Parákrama is an important section of an important book.

Of the native works of literature which Ceylon has produced, the *Maháwaṇsa* is, if I am not mistaken, by far the most important. I venture to claim for it even the high title of a classic. It consists, as is well known, of a history of the kings and of the Buddhist Community of Ceylon from the earliest days till the arrival of the English in Kandy ; though the earliest portion, up to the third century B.C., is mere legend, and the latest portion a mere brief addition to complete the book. It is the work in parts of authors contemporary with the events which they relate, and in other parts of compilers who at intervals "wrote it up to date" from public records or from tradition. It is composed in Páli verse, and in one metre (with trifling exceptions) throughout—that common metre of long trochaic lines, in which all the principal Indian poetry is written.

A work on this scale, and with this dignified purpose, stands on the higher levels of literature ;—that is, if its structure, its contents, and its style are at all worthy of its pretensions. And as much as this may safely be said of the *Maháwaṇsa*. As history, it covers a long period—more than twenty centuries : is on the whole trustworthy ; and narrates events of importance : as literature, it is boldly planned and executed with fair consistency ; and its narrative, while of very unequal merit, is at its best well arranged, graphic, dignified, and even beautiful. The

language in the best portions is easy and clear, and the metre—one well adapted to narrative—is used with admirable flexibility.

While this may be said of the *Maháwaṇsa* as a whole, its historical and its literary merits are not similarly distributed—one part excels in historical value, another in literary charm. Without now inquiring which portions are most valuable as history, or even what is the degree of historical value of the section which concerns Parákrama, I may certainly treat this section as standing among the highest in literary merit.

I ought here to say how greatly I am indebted to the Siṅhalese translators, Sumaṇgala Terunnánsé and the late Paṇḍit Baṭuvantudáwé, and to the English translator, L. C. Wijesiṅha Mudaliyár. I have not actually borrowed from their works (with a small exception) the translations which I shall quote, but I could have done nothing without them. For the identification of the few *places* to which I have referred, I am indebted to the learning and courtesy of Veḷiviṭiya Dhammaratana Terunnánsé of the Vidyodaya College.

Parákrama the First, justly called Parákrama the Great, who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century of the Christian era, is the most prominent figure in Ceylon history, and the hero *par excellence* of the Siṅhalese nation. There is only one name that can rival his, that of Duṭṭhagámini, who drove out the invaders of his country fourteen centuries before, and whose figure on the historic canvas is invested with even more romance, but with far less of reality. The chapters which treat of Duṭṭhagámini are highly poetical, but they are altogether a slighter matter than the long and detailed section which records—and, as I believe, with much historical accuracy—the exploits of the later hero.

It is not as history, however, whether accurate or otherwise, that I am considering this section of the *Maháwaṇsa* to-night, but as a poem, or material for a poem. I propose to show in what degree it has the qualities of an epic poem, in unity and dignity of subject, and imaginativeness and beauty of

treatment. On the former of these two points I expect to convince you easily that the subject had in it, in an eminent degree, the "makings" of an epic; and I think also, as to treatment, that the writer was not unconscious of the opportunity which his subject gave him, but saw its greatness, grasped it to some extent as a whole, and was elevated to something of the standpoint of a poet by the impression which it made upon his imagination. The vivid conception which he had formed of the person and career of his hero gives to his work both unity and poetic interest.

Of that magnificent figure and those splendid exploits the author was, I think, an eye-witness. Three considerations lead me to conclude that he was a contemporary: first, and chiefly, the fulness of detail in the whole narrative of Parákrama's life. Secondly, that, in contrast with this, his death is not recorded. It is only said that he reigned thirty-three years; and between this reference and the main record of his life there is a break in the continuity of the work, chapter 78 being in the main a repetition of what has been already stated in chapter 73, and both 78 and 79 being rather retrospective summaries than contemporary narrative. At that point,—between chapter 77 and chapter 78—as I conjecture, a later writer took up the pen after Parákrama's death. A third reason for thinking that our author was a contemporary is, that the closing lines of chapter 77 are written in the present tense—a thing which I have not noticed in the conclusion of any other chapter.

If this is the case, our author stood too near his subject for an epic poet's purpose. Its details were too close to him: he could not see his hero's life a whole. And the consequences of this disadvantage are evident in his work. It is too often an accumulation of details, and wanting in breadth of treatment. But although the author either could not, because a contemporary (as I think), or did not, from want of grasp, allow details to be sufficiently merged in broad effect, I still think he did to a great extent grasp Parákrama's career as a whole. If he had been asked to state in what

Parákrama's greatness lay, he would have replied: "He brought all Laṉká under one rule." That was Parákrama's great exploit; that was the great action which gives unity to his history. He brought all Laṉká under one royal canopy, made it one nation again. Our author recognises this in a true patriotic spirit. He genuinely rejoiced in the unity and greatness which had been restored to his native country; and the monarch who had achieved it was not only the master whose deeds it was his business to record, but was enthroned in his imagination, the hero of his heart.

He is not describing a monarch alone, but a popular hero; a well-known and well-loved character, whose fun and love of sport, whose kindliness of heart, as well as his reckless daring, had endeared him to every man in his dominions. In using these terms I am but putting into modern language what breathes throughout these chapters, though it finds a very different expression. I fancy I perceive in them, in spite of the conventional turns of phrase, the feeling which in a modern might have prompted the exclamation:

> Oh! was there ever such a knight, in friendship or in war,
> As our sovereign lord King Henry, the hero of Navarre!

The hero's earlier days, with their rough fun and incessant adventure, were evidently regarded, in the popular mind, with the same sort of homely affectionate admiration with which the English remembered the boisterous youth of Henry V., to whom—though here I must be forgiven as an Englishman for putting in the proviso, *si parva licet componere magnis*—Parákrama is a Siṉhalese parallel. Thus the hero's well-marked personality, and the achievement of one transcendent action, made it possible for our author, though standing too near to him in time, to grasp his career as a whole, and to be sensible of its poetical value.

To the disadvantage for poetical purpose, of too great nearness to the events, I attribute in part the fact—which can hardly be disputed—that the earlier portions of the life are more interesting than the later. These earlier portions are

also—and this is a point to which it is important for me to call attention—cast in a conventional form. They are modelled according to the received patterns of Indian poetry, with incidents which, from the *Rámáyaṇa* onwards, are attached to the birth and youth of heroes.

It is in this form that I prefer in the first instance to state the fact which I will now state in another shape.

The earlier part of the life of Parákrama bears a remarkable likeness to the stories of the life of Gotama in its later forms, as told, for instance, in the *Lalita Vistara*. His birth was announced, to a father who had long been praying for a son, by a glorious messenger from heaven. The accomplishment of the prophecy was intimated by the appearance of a beautiful white young elephant entering the chamber where his mother lay. On his birth supernatural signs appeared, and all nature was filled with joy. Sages, interpreting the signs which accompanied his birth, and the marks which were found upon his person, announced his future power. He would be able, they said, to bring not only all Laṇká, but even all India under one dominion. But there was one sad prophecy, as there was in the case of Gotama, amid all these brilliant auspices. The father—not, as in Gotama's case, the mother—was soon to die. The young prince was brought up after the pattern of the Indian princes; soon mastered the Vedas and all the arts, and became accomplished in horsemanship, sword-play, and archery; and when he had been removed after his father's death to his uncle's court, lived there in great ease and pleasure, the object of the king's unwearied care and love. But from this pleasant home a noble resolution called him forth. He feared that he might lose, amid those pleasures and comforts, the aspiration which he felt kindled in him to raise his father's house from its obscurity and make all Laṇká one. In the enthusiasm of this high purpose, he departed by stealth, at night, alone; and the very term is used of his "going forth," which has been represented for English readers, in the case of the Buddha, as "renunciation."

The closeness of the parallel is obvious. I have hinted at two alternatives for its explanation. Did the writer of the *Maháwaṇsa* consciously and intentionally delight to trace, as he thought, in his hero's history a faint copy of that of the object of a Buddhist's veneration? Or is the case rather that these incidents were so essentially part of the stock-in-trade of the biographer of heroes, as to have attached themselves inevitably in the poetic tradition, first to the name of Gotama, and afterwards to that of Parákrama? It is certain that some of the features are as old as the *Rámáyaṇa*.

We read in that poem that to Dasaratha, the father of Rámá, when he had been "engaged in austerities with the view of having sons born to him," and had offered in particular the horse-sacrifice with that object, there appeared a mighty being, as messenger of Pajápati, and announced to him that he should have a son (1, 44). There was no elephant in his case, but on his birth celestial music sounded, and flowers fell from heaven. And the youth of course was brought up in the same accomplishments of riding, swordsmanship, and archery. On the whole, it seems to me more likely that the writer, familiar with the Indian epics, and also, of course, with the lives of Gotama, could not help constructing his narrative upon the well-known framework, than that he was consciously parodying a biography which to him was sacred.

He was not, however, so much of a Buddhist as some of his predecessors or as his successor among the *Maháwaṇsa* writers. In his chapters the morals, drawn from every king's death or conduct, about the lesson of the worthlessness of perishable things, are few, and less earnest. There is a great contrast, for instance, between this:

> Even so all the riches that men lay up for themselves by much suffering are lost in a moment; yet alas! foolish men set their heart on them alone—

which I take from Mr. Wijesiṇha's translation of one of the

earlier chapters;* and this which follows on the record of Parákrama's acts of secret policy, when he was spying out the country which he intended afterwards to conquer:

Thus do all the endeavours of beings endued with the power of meritorious deeds heaped up in former births meet with no hindrance, but are crowned with success. Let, therefore, the prudent man take this to heart, and become diligent in the performance of good deeds.†

In some places (as at the end of chapter LXV.) the moral is conspicuous by its absence. On the other hand, records of Hindú customs and ceremonies are frequent.

I have already had occasion to sketch very briefly the narrative of the hero's youth, and although there are lines here and there which rise quite to the level of poetry,—in the description, for instance, of the reception of the elephant by Queen Lílávati, and of the gladness of nature at the prince's birth,—it is not until we come to his resolution to quit the pleasures of his uncle's court that we meet with a passage which lends itself to quotation.‡ The prince had been considering how little men of high station especially ought to value life, in comparison with glory that cannot die. He called to mind not only the exploits recorded in the *Ummagga Játaka*, but those of Rámá and of the heroes of the *Mahábhárata*, and that of the Bráhman by whom the royal race of Magadha was raised to power. "All these," he cried, in verses which in the original are of remarkable eloquence:

All these great deeds, though the doers are here no longer, are famous in the world to this very day. Life is worth living to those who have the capacity to achieve a rare and surpassing career like theirs. For me, born in Kshatriya race, if I do not something worthy of Kshatriya heroism, vain will my life be. They were blest, it is true, with times far more favourable; but in wisdom and all other gifts why should they be better than me?

To understand the purpose to which the young prince was devoting himself we must glance at the condition of Ceylon at that time.

* *Maháwaṇsa*, chap. XLVIII., 160.

† *Ibid*, chap. LXVI., 158.

‡ *Ibid*, chap. LXIV., 39 *et seq*.

The land was divided (after the death of the illustrious Vijaya Báhu, who was contemporary with William the Conqueror) by the dissensions and intrigues of the royal family, into four parts.

Over the northern kingdom, of which Puḷatthi, or Poḷonnaruwa, was the capital, Gaja Báhu, a cousin of Parákrama, was reigning at the time of our story. This was still looked on as the principal kingdom, the true Siṉhalese throne.

The southern part of the Island, which in the palmy days of the united monarchy had been administered by one subordinate prince, was now divided into three so-called kingdoms under Mánábharaṇa, our hero's father, and his two brothers.

Under this divided government and these weak rulers the condition of the country had not been happy. These rulers lived, the historian tells us, like village headmen, without dignity and without ambition. They made no attempt to fulfil the opportunities of their office to the good of others and their own; but with hearts set only upon cruelty were utterly gone out of the path of duty.

It does not appear that these chieftains were in any true sense kings over large provinces, or that their provinces put together covered the whole of Southern Ceylon; on the contrary, the three places in which they are respectively said to have reigned are all (according to Dhammaratana's identification) in the southern Bintṇna, the low-country of Úva, in the triangle between Passara, Balaṉgoḍa, and Hambantoṭa.

Saṅkhatthali, where our hero was born, is identified with the modern Aḷupota in Wellassa, which is also called Máligáṭṇna, and where there are still ruins of a palace. There is now a resthouse there, a few miles, as the crow flies, south-east of Passara. His father's little dominion reached southwards at least as far as Puṅkhagáma or Piḷagama, believed to be now Galgé, on the border between the Buttala and Kataragama districts. His uncle Vallabha had his chief city somewhere in the Kolonná Kóralé, and Sirimégha, his other

uncle, at Mahanágakula, now Mágala or Nágala, in Buttala Pattuwa. On the death of Parákrama's father this uncle took his place, and it was with him that our hero was living (near, as I have said, to Passara) at the time at which we have arrived. But this small province did not satisfy Parákrama's ambition. His ambition was to regain the northern kingdom, the ancient seat of power, which his cousin Gaja Báhu now occupied. He did not seek to win it for himself, but for his uncle and foster-father. Against his other uncle, Vallabha, who shared the south, he had apparently no designs: he probably foresaw—what did occur, though only after a long struggle—that whoever ruled the north and a part of the south could not fail ultimately to regain the remainder of the south. His definite aim therefore was to gain Polonnaruwa and the rest of Gaja Báhu's kingdom. He was content to set about this patiently, and not to make the attempt till he had trained soldiers and captains, and collected war materials and money. He would begin by making himself acquainted with the extent of Gaja Báhu's strength, and the degree of attachment of his ministers and people. The object therefore of Parákrama's setting forth was *to spy out the northern kingdom*, and at the same time to train a body of followers who should be devoted to his person, and have implicit confidence in his fortune.

Our author is careful to show how deliberately the prince set himself to form a little band of immediate followers, to impress them with his determination, convince them of his invincible courage, and perhaps to commit them to his cause.

This latter aim—to commit his followers to his cause—probably explains a step on which the writer lays emphasis, though it is not altogether to the hero's credit. On leaving his uncle, the prince went into the district near Badalatthali, or Badulla, which was under the care of a certain general named Saṅkhá, whose guests both king and prince had lately been. This general very properly hesitated to encourage the young prince's escapade, and was trimming very judiciously between pleasing the prince and pleasing the king. He

entertained the nephew well, but meanwhile communicated with the uncle. Parákrama, perceiving this duplicity, at once had the general put to death—an act calculated to convince Gaja Báhu that he was disaffected towards his uncle, and to commit his own men to his cause,—but one which could not, without a good deal of explanation, be divested of the appearance of rebellion. After this it became necessary for the prince to lead for a time a life not far removed from that of an outlaw ; and this gave him of course the best opportunities for winning the hearts of his men. He astonished them by displays of courage such as the following :—

When he had dwelt there some days, the inhabitants of the province gathered from every side, thinking "We will capture this prince," and pouring in great excitement incessant showers of arrows, they surrounded the village and opened fight with ardour. The soldiers who had come in the prince's train, professing that they would lay down their lives in case of need, were now distracted with fear ; and except the men who bore the prince's state canopy and his sword they all fled hither and thither, in the very sight of the royal youth. When he saw his comrades thus flying, he smiled quietly, and seeing here an opportunity to display courage at its height, "With my weapon alone," thought he, "I will terrify and put to flight the foe." "Bring me a sword!" cried the prince with a sudden shout, and at that strong deep utterance of his, forthwith his soldiers, as they heard the sound of the trumpet-shell of victory spread through the circuit of the regions, saw the heads of some of the enemies' warriors fall severed to the ground. Then those who before were fleeing stopped and turned, and fought and routed that force of many thousands; then they gathered round the prince with homage, and praised the heroic deed that he alone had done.

He entered with zeal into field sports, and took part in boyish games even in the midst of danger, as the following passage indicates :—

So all full armed these mighty ones, like the host of Mára, set forth in fury along the road which the spies pointed out. At all the four quarters they entered the village and on every side surrounded the prince's house. The prince, clad in a red blanket on account of the extreme cold, was sitting playing at a game such as young men love. Made aware by the loud noise that the foe was close at hand, and seeing not one of his own attendants at that moment, he tightened the knot of hair upon his head, and clad as he was with the blanket, wrapped it very closely round him, and with sword in hand, in terrible guise,

he went forth into the midst of the conflict like a maned lion among elephants. In a moment the foes were flying in all directions (every foeman was facing a different way).

Of his audacity as well as his love of a joke, the following is related :—

He sent for one of Gaja's generals, from a certain Kaláveẉa (I do not see how it can be the well-known place far in the north), by name Gókaṇṇa Nagaragiri, that he might learn how far he was loyal to that king. The general knew already enough of Parákrama to obey, but not unnaturally—after the Badulla general's fate—he came with a large bodyguard and not without anxiety. Parákrama received him with all honours, and provided him with the best of lodgings. But in the night Gókaṇṇa dreamed a dream. He thought he saw his couch surrounded by armed men come to kill him. With a cry of terror he leapt (or fell) out of bed, and regardless of his troops and attendants, his sword and his standard, he ran into the jungle, where he wandered about till dawn ; and as soon as he could see the way rushed off to his own village. His soldiers followed in equal panic and arrived by different paths at Kálavápi. And when the prince heard the tidings of this flight, he laughed and (remained there a short time). He was very fond of conversation, and in those days whenever he was overcome with fatigue there was nothing like this story to drive his fatigue away.*

After no very long time spent in these preliminary adventures he made his way northward, not without contests, to the borders of his cousin's kingdom. His entering those borders for the first time was a critical moment, and the poet has not failed to emphasize it by a touch which unfortunately our English translator has omitted. He entered it with a bound—*rañño raṭṭhasímaṇi samullaṅghiyupágami*—as Cæsar put spurs to his horse and leapt over the Rubicon.

King Gaja Báhu, though not quite undisturbed at the manner of the young prince's approach, persuaded himself

* *Maháwaṇsa*, chap. LXVI., 35–56.

that he must be come in peace and in jealousy of the uncle whom he had left, and welcomed him heartily. Parákrama's life at his cousin's court was a triumph of dissimulation, but it is a remarkably picturesque scene. Not only did he ingratiate himself with the king, for whom he obtained his own sister's hand, and with all his nobles, but he went continually about among the common people, entering with sympathy into all their needs, and, without appearing to do so, fostering all their grievances. A device which he used for gaining access, without appearing to seek it, to their houses is too curious to be left unnoticed. He kept a tame elephant which he trained to run at him ; and when he was near the house of a person whom he wished to win, he would pretend to be charged by the elephant, and would run for shelter into the house.

The list of his spies is amusing, and shows us what were the classes of itinerant traders and performers in those days.

That he might learn exactly who among the inhabitants of the outlying portions of the king's domains were attached to him and who were disaffected, he looked out men who were clever in many devices and skilled in the languages of various countries, and also foremost in loyalty ; and among them, such as were learned in poisons he sent about in the guise of snake-charmers. Some the ingenious prince made fortune-tellers (from marks on hand, &c.); some as harp-players in the guise of Candálas or Brahmans. From among Tamils and others he chose a great many skilled dancers and singers, and sent them about as showmen of leather puppets and other entertainments. Some he sent about as pedlars offering rings, bangles, glass beads, and such-like goods for sale.

Some were to equip themselves with umbrella and staff or walking-stick, and so on, and assume the likeness of ascetics, and like faithful devotees to go from village to village as if to pay their homage at shrines.

Others assumed the parts of itinerant teachers to teach letters or the use of arms to children ; others went as physicians, some were alchemists, some sorcerers, and some goldsmiths and the like.

Some of these spies, who went as Buddhist monks, found their way into houses, entered into close intimacy and confidence with the

inmates, by whom they were maintained and waited on, and obtained the position of moral instructors and guides. In this capacity they undermined the loyalty of those persons, and gave such counsel as should bring them under their own influence.

The result of all this policy was, that in course of time Parákrama had become acquainted with the mind of every courtier and almost of each commoner in the realm he desired to conquer, had friends in every corner of it, and knew every path in its forests.

Acquainted as he was with the various kinds of paths, the prince ascertained exactly from hunters the way by which a force could enter the city and the way convenient for his own spies. Himself, too, roaming the forest near the city under pretence of hunting, could distinguish all the ways and byways by marks which he set.*

After a time, when he felt any longer delay would be time lost, he returned to his uncle's court at Sańkhatthali ; but it was not long before Kitti Sirimegha died, and Gaja Báhu saw without apprehension his young friend established on the neighbouring throne.

His first care was to develop the resources of his country. He was extremely conscious of its smallness and poverty, but he seems at once to have taken in hand districts far beyond any of which we have heard as having been practically under his father's or his uncle's sway. From Adam's Peak to the sea, he is said to have placed his soldiers; he drained the marshes of the Pasdun Kóralé, and built a causeway (or anicut?) across the Deduru-oya in the Kolonná Kóralé—part of a system of irrigation works, ruins of which, Mr. Wijesiṇha tells us, are still to be seen.

It is impossible not to admire the high conception of the duties of a ruler which is here set forth:—

All throughout this realm that belongs to me, he said to his ministers, besides the many corn lands that are ripened by the water of the rain-clouds, the fields maintained in dependence on rivers whose waters fail not, and on mighty reservoirs, are few ; and the kingdom includes very many rocky mountains and thick forests, and great far-stretching marshes. In such a land as this, surely not even the least

* So both translations from *Nánásanketakamate.*

drop of the water that the rain supplies should go to the ocean without bringing help to man. Except those places where the mines are of gems and silver and such-like precious things, in every other spot provision must be made for maintaining fields. Not to live for the people's good, but merely to enjoy the good things that have come to our hand,—such a life is utterly unfit for men like me!

And again—

Let there not stand in my realm in any spot whatever even the space of one small plot of ground that is not of use.

He had unbounded confidence in the capacity of human skill to redeem the desert into garden ground, and inspired his ministers with the same.

Meanwhile he was collecting stores, and by the sale of gems (for the gem-producing part of the country was in his dominion) he was accumulating money; and he was training soldiers and captains. He was evidently convinced that the hope of a restored national unity lay in the training of native troops; he knew how ruinous was the system, which had come very largely into use, of depending on Velakkára or mercenary troops from among the Tamils (as their title *Velakkára* shows) and other races of the continent. Our author does not expressly state this, but he represents his hero as a Siṉhalese to the backbone, who always preferred the homeborn to the foreign. Of this the striking episode of the Siṉhalese sword is an illustration, though it occurs at a later period of Parákrama's career.

Again and again, with that prudence which the author delights to extol, side by side with his impetuous bravery, the king counted up his resources in men and material, and decided that the time for movement was not come; but at last it did come, and he entered on the great career of conquest. That career was not exhausted by the attainment of his immediate object, for after he had subdued the north of his own Island and erected his royal canopy over all Laṉká, he had many rebellions at home to quell, and he carried his victorious arms, we are told, to the continent of India, and even to the far shores of Araccan.

But those later glories lie a little beyond my present scope: it is enough for our epic purpose to leave our hero with his foot upon his foes in Laṇkâ, and all that great future opening before him; for one evening's Paper at any rate it must suffice if I can conduct him in triumph to Puḷatthi.

The course of the campaign, if we could identify even a fair proportion of the places, would be very interesting as a study of geography, but it must be confessed that in other aspects it is tedious. Our author's battlepieces in this part are utterly inferior to those in which he describes the hero's later contest with Mánábharaṇa. In that part there is incident and detail, here there is neither, and the contrast is so marked that one is tempted to think of a difference of authors. I incline to think that the later contest took place in the author's neighbourhood, while of the earlier campaign he had only the official reports.

In this part at least the author seems to have no appreciation of the poetic value of *vicissitudes* of fortune. The record of uniform success is extremely tedious. This general defeated the foe at such a place; another general won a great victory at such a place; at another place Parákrama's general killed multitudes of the enemy; the foes came out to meet the king's forces at such a place but were utterly destroyed;—and so on to an interminable length.

If a defeat has to be admitted it is mentioned briefly and obscurely. After Parákrama's forces had taken Puḷatthi and Gaja Báhu was a prisoner, Mánábharaṇa, the rival king of the south, came suddenly northward, joined his forces to those of the northern kingdom, and utterly defeated, as the author says, "all that large host." The reader has some difficulty in assuring himself whether it was Parákrama's army that was defeated, for neither is his name mentioned, nor is the defeated force called the king's. Mr. Wijesiṅha has introduced the name of Parákrama into his translation (and very rightly, for it helps his reader), but he ought to have put it in brackets, that the reticence of the author might be seen.

Nor is there any description of battle scenes beyond the very slightest: not even is the cutting off of heads and limbs specified, as in the Indian epics; and there is very little bloodshed. This part of the work then is not a description of battles, but a list of victories; and has rather the appearance of having been worked up from an official report. In some places the names of the generals and the places where they fought are crowded into the verse just as thick as they can be packed.

But the tedious list of victories is interrupted by one noticeable touch of character and heroic incident. It struck the king, when he was halfway in the campaign, that he could disencumber himself of all his generals and take Puḷatthi by himself, with no soldiers but the band of immediate followers whom he had personally trained.

Under the pretext of a summons to attend a festival of Buddha, which he had ordered one of his generals to arrange for this purpose in a place on the way towards Puḷatthi, he proposed to leave his ministers and advance alone. But his generals saw through the scheme, and their loyal eagerness to be in the forefront of the campaign defeated the king's purpose. He advanced therefore with a well-organized force.

I have mentioned that I owe the identification of the places to which I have referred to Dhammaratana Terunnánse. I am myself unfortunately entirely unacquainted with that branch of the subject; but few inquiries of the kind would be more interesting than one which should result in a map of the country as it was in the twelfth century, with an itinerary of Parákrama's marches. But even such information as I have enables me to draw your attention to a fact which cannot fail to interest. The scene of this royal history lay in exactly that region which an inhabitant of modern Ceylon, at any rate until a few years ago, would have been likely to select, if he had been asked tc mention the least attractive and the most unhealthy portion of the Island—the districts of Buttala, Wellassa, and Yaṭikinda in the Southern

Bintẹnna. In these districts, by the energy of Sir A. H. Gordon and Mr. F. Fisher, field hospitals have lately been established, and my colleague, Mr. Dunnett, is promoting schools. That this region was in Parákrama's time either very populous or highly civilized the *Maháwaṇsa* does not imply ; but it implies a condition considerably in advance of that to which that country has now sunk ; and I indulge the hope that the connection of which I am reminding you between these fever-stricken districts and the most illustrious name in Siṇhalese history may contribute in some slight degree to promote their restoration.

Parákrama conducted the war, as far as his own part in it went, with moderation ; but he was not able altogether to restrain the violence of his soldiers, and this violence and rapacity gave rise to the one reverse which, as far as I have noticed, attended Parákrama's arms in this part of his career. The chiefs and inhabitants of the invaded country invited the assistance of Mánábharaṇa, Parákrama's cousin, son of Vallabha, who still held one of the divisions of the southern country. This prince, though really insignificant, was weak enough to think that the crisis was his opportunity, and that he could first assist Gaja Báhu to repel Parákrama, and then step himself into Parákrama's position and defeat Gaja Báhu. He came northward suddenly, joined his forces to those of the northern king, and inflicted a severe defeat on the army of our hero (who seems at the time to have been in the south), and then treacherously seized Gaja Báhu, and proposed to put him to death.

Parákrama soon repelled Mánábharaṇa, and of course had Gaja Báhu at his mercy ; and the kingdom was then virtually his own. This gave the hero an occasion for the exercise of a splendid generosity. The defeated king Gaja, in despair of any other refuge, entreated the Buddhist monks of Poḷonnaruwa to intercede for him ; and at their suggestion Parákrama gave back to his vanquished opponent the crown which had been the object of his whole life's enterprise, and returned to his own country.

Gaja made no attempt to take unfair advantage of this concession. He retired to another city, and made a solemn gift of the kingdom, by an inscription on a stone tablet in *vihára*: "I have given the royal country to Parákrama." Soon after this he died and Parákrama took possession of Puḷatthi.

There was still a great deal of fighting to be done before Mánábharaṇa was finally subdued; and I am sorry to find myself obliged to dispose of it all in a single sentence. When the dominion of Laṇká was at length completely attained, then the magnificent works for which Parákrama's name is best remembered were still to be begun. That portion of his life, in which he exercised the power attained, is a distinct subject; the course of heroic action by which he attained it is all that I have tried to sketch to-night. It was given to him to unite the careers of a Julius and of an Augustus; we have followed him to the point at which the greater Roman's course was cut short, and leave our hero prepared to inaugurate the Augustan age of Laṇká.

6. Mr. Harward read the following statement with regard to the continuation of the series of Papers on "The Ancient Industries of Ceylon,"* by Geo. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President:—

After a brief summary of the results of his earlier Papers, the writer stated that the problem to be solved was to ascertain the extent of the population of Ceylon in early times, and how they were occupied. The criterion to be employed was an estimate by an expert of the number of days' work required for the construction of some of the great public works carried out under the early kings. From a comparison of this number with the recorded time taken over the same works, it would be possible to infer the number of men employed. The writer showed in outline how such a calculation might be made, and how the numbers of the other sections of the population might be deduced from it.

7. A vote of thanks to the Chair and to the writers of the Papers was passed on a motion proposed by Mr. Justice Lawrie.

8. Sir E. Walker having acknowledged the vote of thanks to the Chair, addressed the Meeting, and endorsed the vote to the Lord Bishop and to Mr. Wall. His Lordship having replied, the proceedings terminated.

* *See* Vol. X., Journal No. 37, 1888, pp. 327–364; and Proceedings, 1887–88, pp. lviii.–lxvi. and lxviii.–lxxix.; Vol. XII., Journal No. 42, 1891, pp. 1–22; also pp. 47–62.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 11, 1893.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Justice Lawrie.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.
Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha.
Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward
Mr. G. A. Joseph } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on August 5, 1893.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidate for admission into the Society as a Resident Member be elected, viz. :—

Mr. S. G. Lee { Proposed / Seconded } by { Mr. J. Ferguson. / Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.

3. Considered the passing of a vote of condolence at the next General Meeting on the death of the late Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, Vice-President, and of moving a resolution at that Meeting to place on record the sense of regret of the Society at the loss sustained.

Resolved,—That the Council recommends that the matter be brought before the next General Meeting.

4. Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held on October 28, 1893 and that the following be the business for the Meeting, viz. :—

(1) To read the printed Paper entitled "Chilappatikáram," by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, laid on the table.
(2) To move that Rule 18 be altered so as to constitute four Members a quorum of Council, instead of five.
(3) To pass a vote of condolence on the death of the late Col. F. C. H. Clarke, Vice-President of the Society, and to move that the sense of regret of the Society at the loss sustained be placed on record.

5. Resolved,—That any other Paper sent in before October 28 be referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, Dr. Vandort, and Mr. J. Harward, and, if approved by them, be read at the next Meeting.

6. Considered books suggested for purchase.

Resolved to purchase Cunningham's *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas, and Kushans.*

The Honorary Secretary was asked to ascertain the price of the other two books recommended, viz., Taylor on *The Alphabet* and Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, and report to the Council.

7. Discussed the question whether Mr. George Wall's statement (read at the last Meeting) with regard to the continuation of his Series

of Papers on "The Ancient Industries of Ceylon" should be printed in the Journal, and in what form.

Resolved,—That a short summary of the statement be published in the Journal.

8. The Honorary Treasurer read a letter received from Mr. H. Nevill, complaining (i) of the want of a Catalogue, and (ii) inquiring whether Members are allowed to take out books without limit.

Resolved,—That as regards the inquiry as to what number of books Members are entitled to take out at one time, Mr. Nevill be referred to Library Rule 41.

9. Laid on the table in manuscript tentative specimen of a Catalogue of the Society's Library containing a list of Ceylon Books. The Council discussed the arrangement to be adopted in compiling the Catalogue, and decided in favour of a Classified Catalogue.

10. The Council was informed that the late Mr. H. Pedro Perera had taken out some books belonging to the Society, which had not been returned, and which were now reported as not forthcoming.

Resolved,—That the matter be left entirely in Mr. Joseph's hand, and that he be authorized to adopt whatever course he considers best to get back the books.

11. Discussed the desirability of calling in books that had been out of the Library for any length of time.

Resolved,—That the Secretaries be allowed to call in all books, without exception, issued previous to August 15, for the purposes of verification and cataloguing.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 28, 1893.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam.
Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.
Mr. S. G. Lee.
Mr. W. Pereira.
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Mr. J. W. Seneviratna.
Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. F. W. Vane.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors :—One lady and six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on August 11, 1893.

2. It was announced that since the last General Meeting the following Member had been elected, viz., Mr. S. G. Lee.

3. On a motion proposed by Mr. Harward, and seconded by the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, it was unanimously resolved, on the recommendation of the Council, "That a vote of condolence be passed on the death of Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G., &c., Vice-President, and that the sense of regret of the Society at the loss sustained be placed on record."

4. Mr. Harward proposed "That Rule 18 be altered, by changing the first word *five* to *four*, thereby constituting four Members a quorum of the Council, instead of five." With regard to the alteration, he said the reason of it was not that there was any intention of revolutionizing the constitution of the Society, but simply because on more than one occasion Meetings of the Council had to be adjourned owing to the failure to get together a *quorum*.

Mr. Gerard Joseph seconded the motion, which was carried *nem con.*

5. The following Paper was then read :—

CHILAPPATIKÁRAM.

By the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.

This poem, known as *Chilappatikáram*, is of great interest to the Ceylonese—firstly, because it is the only Tamil work of any antiquity that refers to Ceylon after the period of Rávaṇa; and secondly, because it is, so far as I know, the only one which records the history of Pattiṇi, whose worship is more largely prevalent in this Island than anywhere else.

No apology is therefore needed for attempting a short account of (1) the author of this work; (2) the period at which he lived; and (3) the work itself.

It will be remembered that Southern India was in ancient times under the rule of three Tamil dynasties, known as the "Chéras," "Chóḷas," and "Páṇḍiyas."*

* The whole Tamil land in those times, according to the author of *Chilappatikáram*, was between the sea on the east and west, Kumari (Comorin) on the south, and Tiruvéṅkaḍam on the north.

குமரிவேங்கடங் குணகுடகடலா—மண்டிணிமருங்கிற் றண்டமிழ் வரைப்பில் (வஞ்சிக்காண்டம் கட்டுரை).

The three different dynasties ruled over the following regions, according to ancient authority :—

(1) வடக்குத்தலம் பழனிவான் கீழ் தென்காசி குடக்குத்திசை கோழிக்கூடு. கடற்கரையினேரமது தெற்காகுமோ ரெண்பதின்கா தம் சேரநாட்டெல்லை யெனச்செப்பு.

The *Chéra* kingdom extended on the north to Palaṇi, on the east to Teṇkási, on the south to the sea, and on the west to Kóḷikkúḍu (Calicut); in length 80 *kátams*.

(2) கடல் கிழக்குத்தெற்குக் கரைபொரு வெள்ளாறு குடதிசைக் குக் கோட்டைக் களையாம். வடதிசைக்கண் ஏணுட்டுப் பெண்ணை யிருபத்து நாற் காதஞ் சோணுட்டி னெல்லை யெனச்சொல்.

The Chóḷas land was bounded on the east by the sea, on the south by the river Veḷḷáru, ever engaged in strife with its shore, on the west by Kóḍḍaikkarai, and on the north by river Peṇṇai; in length 24 *kátams*.

(3) வெள்ளாற்றின் றெற்காகு மேற்குப் பெருவெளியாம் தெள் ளாம்புனற்கன்னி தெற்காகும்—உள்ளாணுய்ந்தாண்ட கடல்கிழக் கைம்பத்தறுகாதம் பாண்டிநாட் டெல்லைப்பதி.

The boundaries of the Páṇḍiyan Kingdom are, north Veḷḷáru, west Peru-veḷi ["great plain"?], south Kaṇṇi ["virgin" = Kumari], and east the sea; in length 56 *kátams*.

1.—*The Author.*

The author of *Chilappatikáram* was himself the younger son of the then reigning Chéra, and was known as *Iḷaṇ-kó-aḍikaḷ* (*Iḷam* "young"; *kó* "prince" or "king"; *aḍikaḷ* honorific term) and *Chéra-muṇi*. It is said of him that as he was one day sitting with his elder brother Cheṇkuṭṭuvaṇ by their father in the palace at the ancient city of Vañchi, an astrologer, being ushered into the presence of the king, looked at both the young princes, and pointed to the younger prince (our author) as the one who bore in his body the astrological marks indicative of kingship. Much disturbed by the thought that his elder brother's right of succession might be interfered with by reason of the astrologer's remarks, he at once renounced the world and lived the life of a *muṇi* (ascetic). Hence the name of *Chéra-muṇi* ("the ascetic of the royal house of the Chéras").

2.—*The Period at which the Author lived.*

Now, when did he live?

In order to arrive at a conclusion upon this question we have to ascertain at what known period his poem was considered an ancient classic.

We know that the Tamil *Rámáyaṇa* was completed and recited by Kampaṇ before the Academy of Literature in the Sakápta (Ṣaka) year 808, equal to 886 of the year of Christ, on the authority of the well-known stanza recited on the occasion :—

எண்ணிய சகாப்தமெண்ணூற் றேழின்மேற் சடையன் வா
ழ்வு ஈண்ணிய வெண்ணெநல்லூர் தன்னிலே சம்பநாடன் பண்ணிய
ராமகாதை பங்குனி யத்தநாளிற் கண்ணிய வரங்கர்முன்னே கவியர
ங்கேற்றினனே.*

* This shortly is :—Kampaṇ's *Rámáyaṇa* was recited or published (*araṅkéṭṭal*) in the month of Paṅkuṇi (March–April), on the day when the moon was in the constellation Hasta, after the Sakápta year 807.

Hasta, according to Monier Williams, is part of the constellation Corvus and, according to the same authority, which tallies with our Tamil calendars, the Ṣaka era commenced in the 78th year of Christ.

We also know that 107 years before, *i.e.*, in the year of Christ 779, the Tamil translation of the *Skánda-puráṇa* was published by Kachchiyappar.

Before Kampaṉ's *Rámáyaṇa* and Kachchiyappar's *Skánda-puráṇa*, the poem now under notice, viz., *Chilappatikáram*, and some other works, such as *Chintámaṇi*, *Maṇiméḳalai*, *Kuṇḍalakési*, and *Valayápati*, which are all referable to about the same period, had acquired throughout the length and breadth of Tamil territory not only the reputation of being classics, but classics of ancient times. For works to have attained such a reputation in a conservative land like India, some centuries at least must have passed since their publication. I shall therefore be not far wrong in supposing that at the time of the Tamil *Skánda-puráṇa* (Anno Christi 779) these five poems were over five or six hundred years old. Mr. C. W. Támótharam Piḷḷai,* formerly Judge of the High Court of Pudukkóṭṭai and one of the most enlightened Tamil scholars of our day, believes that *Chintámaṇi* was published about 1,800 years ago.†

There is internal evidence in *Chilappatikáram* itself to show that it was also composed about that time; for the author states that at his time Gaja Báhu of Ceylon was on a visit to the Chéra kingdom, and that on his return he introduced into Ceylon the worship of Pattiṉi. The author refers to Gaja Báhu as having been the guest of his brother Ceṉkúṭṭuvaṉ.

The *Maháwaṇsa* speaks of only two Gaja Báhus as having reigned in this Island. Which of them is referred to in the *Chilappatikáram*?

Gaja Báhu I. is believed to have reigned circa 113 Anno Christi,‡ while Gaja Báhu II. reigned in 1142, long after the

* Nachchinárkkiṉiyár, the well-known commentator, lived 1,200 years ago (*cf.* Mr. C. W. Támótaram Piḷḷai's Preface to *Poruḷatikáram*), and wrote a Commentary on Naṭkírar's *Tirumurukáṭṭuppaḍai*, which at his time was regarded to be an old poem; and Naṭkírar in his commentaries cites *Chilappatikáram*.

† *Cf.* Preface to *Virachóḻiyam*.

‡ Turnour, *Epitome*, gives A.C. 109; Wijesinha Mudaliyár, A.C. 113.

Tamil *Rámáyaṇa* was published. It is therefore clear that the reference in the poem is to the first Gaja Báhu.

We may therefore safely conclude that *Chilappatikáram*, like *Chintámaṇi*, was written certainly more than eighteen centuries ago.

3.—*The Subject-matter of the Poem.*

Let me now pass on to the subject treated in this poem.

On the eastern coast of Southern India, where the Kávéri meets the Indian Ocean, was situate Pukár, *alias* Kávéripúmpaṭṭíṇam, the "City of Flowers," beloved of King Karikálaṇ. In this city lived two merchant princes, Mahásáttuvaṇ and Mánáyakkaṇ.

It was arranged between these two that Kóvalaṇ, the son of the former, should be married to Kaṇṇakai, the daughter of the latter. The marriage was celebrated with the pomp and ceremony befitting the wealth and rank of the parents; and the bridegroom of sixteen and the bride of twelve lived together happily for some years in a house built for them by Kóvalaṇ's mother.* Kóvalaṇ unfortunately fell into the toils of a *danseuse*, Mádavi by name, deserted his home and wife, and spent some years with her, losing all his immense fortune. Repenting eventually, he returned to his lonely wife and proposed that they should travel to Madura, the capital of the Páṇḍiyas, and sell Kaṇṇakai's priceless anklets, and with the proceeds thereof retrieve their lost fortune by trade. The faithful wife, always obedient, agreed, and after several adventures in the course of a journey of many days they reached Madura. Leaving his wife in the house of a shepherdess, Kóvalaṇ paced the streets of Madura with the view of selling one of her anklets. He met a goldsmith and showed him the anklet, and the goldsmith, who was a thief of the first water, and who was already under suspicion of having stolen an anklet belonging to the queen

* Note here the custom of young married people quitting their parents' houses soon after marriage and living by themselves—a custom which among us Tamils has now fallen into disuse.

of Madura, desired Kóvalaṉ to remain where he was, promising to mention to King Páṇḍiya that the anklet, which was only fit for a queen, was for sale. The villain went at once to the palace and informed the king that he had discovered the thief who had stolen the queen's anklet. The king, without inquiry, ordered his guards to behead Kóvalaṉ if he was in possession of the queen's anklet, and he was accordingly beheaded. Kaṇṇakai having heard of this calamity, proceeded to the palace, taxed the king with injustice, and complained that her husband had been beheaded without any investigation; and her transcendent virtue caused a part of Madura to be burnt down. Fourteen days after her husband's death she herself ascended the heavens.

The poem consists of *Padikam*, *Uraiperukatturai*, and three parts :—

I.—*Pukár-káṇḍam*, relating to the birth, marriage, and life of Kóvalaṉ and Kaṇṇakai at Kávérippúmpaṭṭíṇam, up to the time of their departure to Madura.

II.—*Madurai-k-káṇḍam*, a recital of the events at Madura up to the attainment of *Svarga* by Kaṇṇakai.

III.—*Vañchi-k-káṇḍam*, where are related the subsequent events, such as how some Veḍḍás saw Kaṇṇakai's translation to *Svarga*, their account of it to the Chéra King, the establishment of temples for the worship of Kaṇṇakai, who ever afterwards was called Pattiṉi, in different parts of India and in Ceylon.

Reference to Gaja Báhu is made in two places—first, in the chapter entitled *Uraiperukaṭṭurai*, as follows :—

From that day the Páṇḍiya kingdom suffered from want of rain, and famine and poverty prevailed daily; but on the Páṇḍiyan King Iḷañcheliyan, then residing at Koṭkai, sacrificing 1,000 goldsmiths to Pattiṉi and celebrating her worship, rain fell, and the land was freed from poverty and disease.

Hearing this, Kosar, the King of Koṉkumaṇḍalam, also celebrated her worship in the same manner, and rain became plentiful in his land.

Hearing this, Gaja Báhu, of sea-girt Ceylon, having first built a sacrificial stone (*Palipiḍam*) for daily sacrifices, then having built

a temple (*Kóḍḍam*),* believing that Pattiṇi would bless him and his land, celebrated on the full moon day of Áḍi (July-August) her worship, and caused processions in every street of his city, and thus brought on rain, and made his land more fruitful than ever.

Hearing this, the Chóḷa King, Perunádkiḷḷi, in the same manner built a temple and made daily sacrifices to Pattiṇi.

The second reference occurs in *Vañchi-k-káṇḍam* in the chapter *Varantaru Kátai*, which, translated, runs thus :—

Having listened joyfully to the words of the Brahmans, and having built a temple for Pattiṇi, who destroyed by fire the capital of the song-renowned land of the Páṇḍiyas, having directed that daily festivals should be celebrated in her honour, and having begged Tevikaí to offer flowers and incense, the lord of the world, Cheṇkuṭṭuvaṇ, stood worshipping, and in his presence worshipped other princes, including the Northern Koṇgas, the Malwa princes, and Gaja Báhu, king of sea-surrounded Ilaṇkai (Ceylon).

The following points are worthy of note in this work. Unlike the generality of books in Tamil, this poem does not begin with an invocation to the deity, but begins thus:—

Let us praise the moon, let us praise the moon, for resembling the shade-giving white umbrella of Chóḷa, he (the moon—masculine in Tamil) protects the world.

Let us praise the sun, let us praise the sun, for resembling the *Tikiri* of the lord of the Kávéri country, he goes round Mount Meru.

Let us praise the rain, let us praise the rain, for, like Chóḷa, it confers prosperity continuously on earth.

Let us praise the City Pukár, let us praise the City of Flowers, for in this ocean-bound earth with Chóḷa's family it excels everything else.

As I have said before, the poem is divided into three parts, each part containing ten chapters.

In chapter I., *Maṇkaḷa Váḻttuppáḍal*, it states that the guests at the wedding of the hero and heroine were invited in a way now rare even amongst princes in India. Maidens were sent out on elephants to invite the guests, and the commentator says that it was then the usual mode of invitation. Another custom, now unusual, is mentioned at the conclusion of the marriage. The assembled women, after blessing the bride and bridegroom, prayed that their king

* It will be interesting to ascertain where this temple was built.

might ever be prosperous. At the present time among Hindús this is not usual in private ceremonies, though in their temples blessing the ruling sovereign takes place on festival days.

In the second chapter (II.), *Maṇaiyaṛampáḍuṭṭa Kátai*, is related the daily life of Kóvalaṉ and Kaṇṇakai, and amongst other things it is there stated that the merchants of the city were also shipowners, *kalam* being used to denote ships.

In the next chapter (III.), *Araṅkéṭṭu Kátai*, is given a full and interesting description of a dancing girl, the qualities and qualifications of a dancing master, music teacher, singing master, the player on wind instruments, the musical instruments then in use, and the different modes in the music of that time; and the learned commentator of the poem, Aḍiyárkkunallár, gives a full commentary on these matters.

The fourth chapter (IV.) is entitled "The Beauty of Evening," and gives a description of sunset, moon rise, the loves of Mádaví, the dancing girl and Kóvalaṉ, and the sorrow of Kaṇṇakai at her separation from her husband.

The fifth chapter (V.) deals with the celebration of the worship of Indra. A beautiful description of Pukár,—the chief seat of government of the Chóḷas at the time,—its buildings, busy streets, the foreign merchants and their ways, the sellers of perfumes and flowers, embroidery workers in silk, cotton, and rat furs, follows. Mention is also made of the different kinds of food used, amongst them *piṭṭu* and *appam*, not unknown now to our European residents. Toddy was sold by the women of the lowest caste, as also was fish; and *veṭṭilai*, "the betel leaf," then, as now, universally used in India and Ceylon, is also mentioned.

The sixth chapter (VI.), entitled "Sea-bathing," describes how the inhabitants, from the prince down to the peasant, proceeded on stated occasions to the sea, and how they spent their day after sea-bath. It also describes the scents,

ointments and cosmetics, jewellery and other paraphernalia used by the fair sex of the time.

The seventh chapter (VII.), *Káṇalvari*, is one of the most interesting parts of the poem to Tamil scholars. It contains the songs said to have been sung by Kóvalaṉ and Mádaví at the river side, in various metres, in praise of the king, river Kávéri, the City of Pukár, and on other subjects. The rythm and sweetness of the several songs can only be appreciated by those who are well versed in Tamil, and are certainly not excelled in any other literature. It is here that Kóvalaṉ and Mádaví quarrel, each believing, but without cause, the other to have been unfaithful, and the final separation takes place.

In the opening lines of the eighth chapter (VIII.), *Véṇiṭ Kátai*, reference is made to an incident in the physical history of Southern India, which I think is not known to European scholars. The southern boundary of Tamil India thousands of years ago seems to have been a river named Kumari, and in the time of the Páṇḍiyan King Jayamákírtti, *alias* Nilantarutiruvit Páṇḍiya (the prince in whose reign *Tolkáppiyam* attained its highest fame), the sea is said to have invaded a large part of South India, and the river Kumari with much land south of it was submerged in the sea which now washes the shores of Cape Comorin. This chapter also mentions four cities, Madura, Uṟantai, Vañchi, and Pukár, as having been royal residences. It also gives in detail the mode of playing on the musical instruments called the *yáḻ* or *viṇai*.

At the end of this chapter is a stanza, part of which I translate for its quaintness in describing Vasanta, the period when the rule of Káma, the Indian Cupid, was all-powerful :—

> All you lovers who have quarrelled come together in the name of the bodiless, thus sings the Kokilam.

The ninth chapter (IX.) gives an account of Kaṇṇakai's dream foreshadowing the death of her husband, the

arrival of her husband, their reconciliation, and, "old fate forcing, they set out before sunrise" to Madura to sell the anklets.

The next two parts, consisting of twenty chapters, relate their travel to Madura, the death of Kóvalaṉ, the destruction by fire of Madura, the end of Kaṇṇakai's earthly life, and her worship by the several princes already mentioned.

I have written these lines in the hope that some of the eminent scholars who are members of this Society will be induced to make a careful study of this poem, one so valued by the Tamil scholars of old that it is known as one of the *Pañchakáviyas*, "the five poems" *par excellence* in Tamil, and to publish the results of their studies. I also trust that European scholars will be induced to study Tamil literature more than they have hitherto done, because I feel sure that that mine contains gems at least as valuable as those found in Páli. The Jain literature, which, if not more interesting than, is at least equal to, Buddhist literature, is mainly in Tamil.

Before concluding, I would like to render thanks to Mr. Suvámináṭha Aiyar, Tamil Paṇḍit of the Government College, Kumbhakónam, for publishing for the first time this ancient work after much labour.

And I the more appreciate this, as he was induced by me to undertake the task of collating and publishing what, in a few years more, would have been utterly lost to the world, in the same manner as several hundreds of equally valuable Tamil works have been lost.

The PRESIDENT hoped they were going to have some discussion on the Paper read. There were two points in particular which had given him considerable anxiety.

He could not help thinking, as regarded one point, that there was a mistake in the passage which represented the Kandyan king as having sacrificed a thousand goldsmiths! During the earlier part of the present century a Frenchman might have been said to have sacrificed a

thousand *Louis*. By that term was not meant a thousand members of the royal family, but coins that bore the name of Louis. Possibly "goldsmith" in the present case meant a *gold piece*, and he could not but hope there was some mistake either in the reading or the translation.

With regard to the date of the poem, he believed the reader of the Paper was prepared to find that what he had advanced was a new view—at any rate to those who had access only to European scholars. He (the speaker) had referred to considerable authorities upon the point, and he had read Dr. Caldwell's "Grammar" and Sir William Hunter's "Gazetteer" on the subject. It was right that the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society should be informed that with regard to that great era and landmark, as it undoubtedly was, the publication of the Tamil *Rámáyana*—there was very great doubt about it, and Dr. Caldwell brought it down to the year 1100. He was not satisfied, from the quotations made by the author of the Paper, that the Tamil translation of the *Rámáyana* was made in the ninth century, or that the Tamil translation of *Sakánda-puráṇa* was made in the eighth century. There was nothing to show that those prefatory verses were written by the authors themselves. From what he had read of Dr. Caldwell it seemed to him that Kamban, the famous Tamil poet, had lived in the reign of Víra Rajendra Chóḷa, in the eleventh century.

Mr. SÉNÁTHI RAJA said that the interest of the Paper consisted, as His Lordship very properly remarked, in its throwing some light on the history of Tamil literature. The difficulty which Oriental scholars hitherto experienced in regard to Indian literature in general, whether Sanskrit or Tamil, was the fixing of the exact dates and period when different authors lived. That difficulty was to some extent removed, in the case of Sanskrit authors, by the labours of foreign scholars. But in regard to Tamil literature there were very few foreign scholars who laboured in that field, and among them the only noteworthy and reliable men who attempted to give any chronology in regard to Tamil literature were Drs. Caldwell and Burnell.

Dr. Caldwell was, no doubt, an eminent philologist, and he has done immense service to Oriental scholarship by his great work, "The Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," but with regard to the chronology which he gave of Tamil literature he had no very reliable materials before him. He arbitrarily assigned the beginning of Tamil literature to the eighth century of our era, his reason being that most of the early Tamil works were composed by Jain authors.

Dr. Caldwell thought, moreover, that Jainism had its origin in Northern India about the beginning of the fifth century, and that it spread to Southern India only about the eighth. He did not know what authority Dr. Caldwell had for his statement that Jainism

originated only in the fifth century. From Buddhist writings, for instance in *Sutta Nipáta*, he found that there were Jains in the time of Buddha. Two philosophers were said to have had some discussion with him, and among them were Majjali Gosala and Nighanta Nataputta. The first was an *Ajibaka* and the second was a *Nighanta*. It was a well-known fact that those two sects were admittedly Jains. The Aṣóka inscription, about 250 B.C., made mention of Jains ; and the *Maháwaṇsa* said that Abhaya, king of Ceylon, in the fifth century B.C., built a temple to *Ajibaka*, and that a *Nighanta* ascetic called Giri lived at Anurádhapura. From these facts it was evident that Jainism had its origin, not in the fifth century of Christ, but that it existed even in the fifth century *before* Christ, in Ceylon. The chronology based by Dr. Caldwell on that authority was, therefore, valueless for historical purposes.

As regarded the age (or date) of the poem *Chilappatikáram*, the fact that it made mention of Gaja Báhu, king of Ceylon, was, he thought, important. This Gaja Báhu appeared to have been a contemporary author, and a younger brother of the then reigning Chéra king. Now, there were only two Gaja Báhus in the history of Ceylon—one who reigned in the second century of our era and the other in the twelfth. The one referred to in the poem could not possibly be the second Gaja Báhu, and for this reason : from an inscription given in Wilson's Mackenzie Manuscripts, the Chéra kingdom was conquered by the Chóḷas under their king Áditya Varmą in 894 A.D., and was absorbed in the Chóḷa kingdom and passed into the hands of another dynasty of Mysore, called Hoysala Ballalla, in the tenth century of our era. The Chéra kingdom was, therefore, practically extinct from 894 A.D. If the author of *Chilappatikáram* was the brother of the reigning king of Chéra, he could not have lived after 894 A.D. Before that period there was only one Gaja Báhu, and that was Gaja Báhu I. Again, the *Maháwaṇsa* said that Gaja Báhu I. invaded the Chóḷa kingdom. It was perhaps on that occasion that Gaja Báhu visited the Chéra king, who possibly might have been an ally in the war against the Chóḷas. Again, from an inscription given in the *Indian Antiquary*, he found that Víra Rajendra Chóḷa, otherwise called Kolatuṇga Chóḷa, was crowned king in 1079 A.D. They all knew that Kolatuṇga Chóḷa was associated in Tamil literature with the names of Kambaṇ and other poets. Dr. Burnell thought that *Virachóḷiyam* a grammatical treatise in Tamil, composed by a Buddhist called Buddha Mittra, was completed in the reign of Víra Rajendra Chóḷa. In a commentary to that work, written by the author himself, he quotes *Chilappatikáram* as an authority. It was clear, therefore, that *Chilappatikáram* must have been composed before the eleventh century. As there was only one Gaja Báhu before that period, they could not but come to the conclusion that the Gaja Báhu referred to in the poem must be Gaja Báhu I. Again, *Chilappatikáram* made mention of Kolkai as one of the capitals of the Páṇḍiyas. They

knew from the writings of Greek geographers that about the first and second century before and after Christ, Kolkai was the emporium of the East, and that before the sixth century, as they knew from the writings of Kosmas, it had dwindled into insignificance. It seemed, therefore, that the author of *Chilappatikáram* must have lived before the sixth century. For the reasons he had stated he thought they must take it that the Gaja Báhu referred to in the poem must be the first king of Ceylon of that name, and that the poem *Chilappatikáram* must have been composed in the second century A.D. He did not support the arguments adduced by the author of the Paper, from the prefatory verses attached to the Tamil translation of *Rámáyaṇa* and *Skánda-puráṇa*. In the preface to a Tamil edition of *Chilappatikáram* recently published, which contained a summary of the whole book, the Tamil editor called attention, he might remark in concluding, to the fact that the name of Gaja Báhu was mentioned, and arrived at the same conclusion as he (the speaker) did, viz., that by the Gaja Báhu of the poem was meant Gaja Báhu I.

Dr. W. G. VANDORT thought the evidence of the poem as to priority did not depend very much on tradition and conjecture. There was one argument referred to by the last speaker which was, he thought, important, as fixing the date as approximately as possible, in showing that the Chéra dynasty was extinguished somewhere about the ninth or tenth century. They had a historical legend in support of the fact. If the author of the poem was the son of the reigning Chéra monarch, why should he be anonymous ? It seemed unlikely that a Chóḷa prince should be forsaking his own house and indulging in such fulsome adulation as brought about the downfall of his own people. But the chief interest in the poem was its ethical significance—the view of human life which the poet took—the fundamental principle on which the structure of the poem depended. For instance, it contained the very first record, so far as he knew,—his experiences comprised only the *Indian Antiquary*,—of the apotheosis of a woman not of royal blood—not even of the warrior or priestly class—but a woman of the people—one of the *bourgeoise*, exalted to the Indian Pantheon, not for any heroic deed, not for any act of self-sacrifice or heroic devotion, but for the commonplace virtues of domestic life.

Mr. HARWARD remarked that the reading of Mr. Coomáraswámy's Paper had given rise to a very interesting discussion on the question—namely, that of synchronising the poem—whether it was written in the reign of Gaja Báhu the First or Second. Another question raised was that regarding the goldsmiths. The Chairman had expressed the hope that it was a mistake, and that the real reading of the word was *gold coins*. But he (the speaker) was afraid they denoted goldsmiths. But he hoped the number was not correct, and that it was not a full thousand. He believed that owing to the conduct of the goldsmith,

who was the "villain of the piece" in the poem, there was still a belief that goldsmiths were the objects of the special wrath of the heroine of the poem, or the powers that be, and he fancied ignorant people still believed that a village of goldsmiths was always burnt down once a year.

7. Mr. HARWARD said that as the discussion had been rather prolonged, he would move that the reading of Mr. Modder's Paper be postponed for the next General Meeting.

Mr. G. A. JOSEPH seconded the motion, which was carried.

8. Dr. VANDORT had much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy for his most interesting Paper. If he had done no worthier service, he had excited some interest in Tamil literature among scholars other than those of his own race, and for that service he thought the Society owed him a special acknowledgment.

Mr. RAṆASIṆHA seconded the vote, which was carried.

HIS LORDSHIP had great pleasure in conveying the vote of thanks to Mr. Coomáraswámy for his Paper.

Mr. COOMÁRASWÁMY acknowledged the vote.

9. Mr. P. RÁMANÁTHAN said the Chairman had shown very intelligent interest in the subject under discussion. His Lordship had carefully studied the case, and he (the speaker) for one had watched with admiration the trouble he had taken in dove-tailing in all the little facts *contra* and presenting them to the consideration of the Meeting, in as clear a manner as possible. It was only right that the question on the other side should have been put before them in that way. He was sure that they would accept his proposal for a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The vote having been passed, and HIS LORDSHIP having acknowledged it, the Meeting terminated.

COUNCIL MEETING.

November 7, 1893.

Present :

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.
Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on September 11, 1893.

2. Read the following letter from Mr. J. F. W. Gore on the subject of the paging of reprints :—

DEAR SIR,—WITH reference to the *reprints* of the Journals of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I write to inform you that I have completed (No. 12, in the Press, excepted) a series of Tables showing the correspondence between their paging and that of the *originals*. It is intended that this shall form an appendix to the Index now in preparation, so that persons in possession of a mixed series of part Numbers may be enabled to consult the Index without danger of confusion.

To the best of my knowledge I have now examined specimens of all the *originals* as well as of all the *reprints* (except No. 12), and it must be considered fortunate that so complete a series has been available. The Museum copy of the Journal, from which the Index is being compiled, appears to consist entirely of originals, with the exception of Part I., which I have marginally marked with original page Numbers.

Since many of the past numbers (*originals* and *reprints*) are becoming scarce, it may shortly be necessary to issue a second series of reprints, as well as to continue reprinting those Numbers hitherto not reprinted.

I therefore take this opportunity of recommending that in future *each page of such reprint should be made to contain exactly the same reading matter as is found on the page of the original from which it is reprinted, and should be numbered as in the original.* An increase or decrease of the margin might, I think, be made to allow for any difference in the sizes of the type used formerly and now ; while if the original page ends in a divided word, so should the page of the reprint, even if it be necessary to divide it in the middle of the last line. Probably the appearance of the reprinted page would in a very slight degree suffer ; but, as against this must be set the great advantages of securing uniformity with the Museum or standard copy, and of obviating the necessity of issuing, to all who possess a copy of the Index, a fresh correspondence-table with each future reprint.

Honorary Secretary,
R. A. S. (C. B.)

I am, &c.,
J. F. W. GORE.

Resolved,—That the Council do approve of Mr. Gore's suggestion, that in future each page of a reprint should be made to contain exactly the same reading matter as is found on the page of the original from which it is reprinted, and should be numbered as in the original.

3. Considered books suggested for purchase.

Resolved to purchase General Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India.*

4. Resolved,—That the following candidate for admission into the Society be elected a Resident Member:—

J. E. Pohath { nominated by } B. W. Bawa. / { seconded by } C. M. Fernando.

5. Considered the appointment of a new Honorary Treasurer in place of Mr. F. C. Roles, who resigns the office on leaving the Island.

Resolved,—That Mr. A. P. Green be offered the Honorary Tresurership, and in the event of his declining the office it be offered to Mr. Stanley Bois, and that in the meanwhile Mr. Joseph be appointed Acting Honorary Treasurer to take over the books and papers.

6. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis, dated September 28, 1893, regarding his Paper on "A Temple Festival in the Mullaittívu District," and the "Temple of Chittravéladar Kóvil," together with proposed draft answer.

Resolved,—That the Council approves of the proposed answer.

7. Laid on the table a Paper from Mr. T. B. Pohath, entitled "Sketch of the Life of Premier Ḍhelapola."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for their opinion.

8. Laid on the table a Paper by Veḷivitiya Dharmmaratana Terunnánse on "Buddhist Robes," and read the Lord Bishop's minute thereon.

9. Laid on the table correspondence with the Hon. W. W. Mitchell regarding his election as a Member.

Resolved,—That the Honorary Treasurer do write to Mr. Mitchell notifying him of his election.

10. Resolved,—That a General Meeting of the Society be held on the 2nd ultimo, and that Mr. Modder's Paper on "Yápahuwa," of which notice had been given, be read.

11. The Honorary Treasurer laid on the table a list of Members whose subscriptions were in arrear for over two years, and who by Resolution of the Council dated 28th March, 1893, should be struck off the roll.

Resolved,—That the names of several defaulters be at once struck off the list, but that should any Member whose name is erased pay all dues before December 1 next, his name may remain on the roll of the Society.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 2, 1893.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
S. G. Lee and H. Srí Sumaṇgala Terunnánsé.
J. Harward, G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors :—Five gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on October 28, 1893.

2. Notified the election of the following Member since the last General Meeting, viz., J. E. Pohath.

3. In the absence of the writer, Mr. Harward read the following Paper :—

ANCIENT CITIES AND TEMPLES IN THE KURUNEGALA DISTRICT: YAPAHUWA.

By F. H. Modder.

Prefatory Note.

The Seven Kóralés, or Kurunégala District, has within its territorial limits the site of many an ancient royal city, as also temples of renown, which writers on Ceylon have omitted all mention of, or, if referring to them, have devoted to them so little space that it can hardly be said that justice has been done to the subject. Where the space given to a notice of these sites and temples is brief, it may safely be assumed that very little was seen, if anything, by those who undertake their description. For instance, notwithstanding the fact that the ruins of *Yápahuwa* are less remote and more accessible than those of Polonnaruwa, they find no place in the books of the principal writers on the Island, not even in the scholarly review or the *Ruined Cities of Ceylon* by Sir J. Emerson Tennent. If that eminent writer had visited these ruins he would not in his chapter on the *Fine Arts* among the ancient inhabitants, have passed this hasty judgment :—

Carving appears to have been practised at a very early period with singular success ; but as in later times it became so deteriorated that there is no difficulty at the present day in pronouncing on the superiority of the specimens remaining at Anarajapoora over those which are to be found among the ruins of the later capitals, Pollanarrua, Yapahu, and Kornegalle.*

* *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 483. Mr. H. Parker considers the stone work in some of the ruins at Rájaṇgana, near Galkaḍavala and about 45 miles from Kurunégala, of a character quite equal to that of the older buildings at Anurádhapura, if not in some cases superior. I hope to devote a Paper to the history of the "Palace Court Yard,"—the name of the place translated—and to give an account of its interesting ruins. Prince Sélaya or Sala, son of king Dutugamunu, is said to have founded the city, in which case it will be about 2,020 years old. At all events, the date of the oldest buildings cannot be more than one or two hundred years after Christ.

The vast and rapid changes which progress and civilization have effected since British rule in Ceylon are daily diminishing the labour and difficulty of accomplishing a trip to these sites and scenes of an ancient and bygone civilization; while the facilities of travel afforded by railway extension render the journey as easy of undertaking by the million, as it once was by a favoured few. These facilities have, moreover, the tendency of fostering and encouraging the spirit of unrest which is manifesting itself in the most populous parts of some of the Provinces of the Island, so much so, that it requires, as aptly remarked by a local writer—

> no prophetic faculty to be able to picture that in a not too remote future there will be found amongst the grim ruins of a bygone age happy colonies emulating the industry and prosperity of the generations whose monuments overshadow them.*

It is with a view of evoking greater interest in, and bringing into more prominent notice these cities and temples, which played so important a part in the history of the past, but have lain buried in oblivion and forgotten by the world, that I have endeavoured to prepare (mostly from existing, though scattered, information) this Paper on *Yápahuwa*. I propose to give it the first place, and to follow it up by others.

I.—YÁPAHUWA.

Yápahuwa is situate in the Pahala-visideka Kóralé of the Wanni Hatpattu, lies 32·20 miles to the north-east of Kurunégala, and rises 767·5 feet above the level of the sea. The shortest approach to it is *viâ* the Puttalam road. Proceed 15·30 miles along it, turn to the right at Pádeniya,† go 11·90 miles on the

* *Census of Ceylon*, 1891, Vol. I., p. 22.

† *Pádeniya*, a village in Dewamédi Médagandahe Kóralé, of the Pahaladolospattu (now Dewamédi Hatpattu), situated on the road from Puttalam to Kurunégala, 43 miles east of the former place and 15·30 miles from the latter. The road to Siyambalagomuwa-oya, the boundary of the new Úva Province, branches off at 20 miles. It has a temple on a rock, Galpita Viháré, with images and a dágoba. According to Lieut.-Col. Campbell, "An old Buddhoo Temple built upon an insulated rock, from

minor road, turn at Daḷadágama to the right, and after travelling 3·50 miles turn to the right again at Heṭṭipola, and you are 1·50 mile from Yápahuwa. If a view of the entire chain of the "animal-shaped rocks" of Kurunégala is desired *en route*, one may start for Yápahuwa along the Dambulla road, turn to the left at Muttettu-gala 1·40 mile, proceed along the Kaḷugalla road 25·15 miles (traversing the important and extensive forest of Pallékeḷé, probably the largest and richest in the Island), turn to the left at Madagala 7·45 miles, thence to Heṭṭipola, turn to the left, and 1·50 mile will bring one to the required destination. This route is 3·30 miles longer than the former, which is far pleasanter to travel over for at least half the distance, as the road up to Pádeniya and thence on to Daḷadágama is what is known as a principal

whence there is an extensive view over a seemingly agreeable, though rather thickly wooded, country, has been fixed, it may be supposed on account of its strength, as a military post for the abode of both officers and soldiers. This rock is surrounded by low marshy jungle and fine paddy fields, with here and there pools of stagnant water, which are often entirely dried up, and from such a country may be expected to arise that malaria which is thought to produce fevers and other diseases." (*Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sport in Ceylon*, 1843, Vol. II., p. 16.) At the time Campbell wrote, Lieut. Logie of the 73rd commanded the troops here, and received as Agent of Government an allowance of about £200 per annum. The soil in its vicinity is very fertile, and produces immense quantities of paddy. The temple, having been for some time occupied as a military post, was restored to the priests in consequence of the insalubrity of the place. (Casie Chetty's *Gazetteer*, p. 179; *Pridham*, Vol. II., p. 648.) Migasṭenna Adigár made a fort here and ruled with severity. The incumbent of the temple still shows the visitor the stone pillars to which people were tied to be lashed. In the rocks below the *banagé* is a deep hole, which contains a constant supply of good water. A *pokuṇa* lower down holds a good deal, even during a drought. The *viháré* is said to be of great age. There are some finely carved pillars, a good figure of Buddha, and several prettily carved ivory offerings. The painting outside has all been effaced. The resident priests do not pay much attention to the improvement or restoration of the buildings. (*Diary, Administration Report, N.-W. Province*, 1888.) The natives say that the soldiers stationed here were visited with sickness owing to their having desecrated the sacred edifice! In consequence of the storing up of salt, the walls are so saturated with saline matter that no paintings could have stood, or been executed on them thereafter, even the plastering giving way.

thoroughfare, and therefore metalled and in good order. The route *viâ* Muttettu-gala and Kaḷugalla passes over minor roads, which are only gravelled, and in many places not permissive of very comfortable travelling; but it is much safer than the other. Going by the Puttaḷam road, 5·15 miles from Pádeniya, is the path which leads to Ebbávelapiṭiya, and about half a mile before the turn to Heṭṭipola lies Kaikávala on the right, by the wayside. At both these places elephants have more than once been kraaled, and the chances are greater of an unexpected encounter with one of these beasts than journeying by the longer route.*

In 1850 Mr. John Bailey,† of the Ceylon Civil Service, was, according to the testimony of the priests of the adjoining temple, only the third Englishman who had ever explored these ruins. In an admirable sketch on "Yapahoo" from his pen, published with illustrations in *Once a Week*‡ (from which much of the material incorporated into this Paper has been gleaned), Mr. Bailey points out that the first Englishman was General Fraser, who halted near the city when marching some troops through the country during the rebellion of 1817; the second being that writer's companion, Mr. J. Woodford Birch, of the Ceylon Civil Service,§ to whom

* For a graphic description of the Elephant Kraal in 1884 at Ebbávelapiṭiya from the pen of the late Sir W. H. Gregory, who was personally present as the guest of Sir A. H. Gordon (now Lord Stanmore), Governor, see *Murray's Magazine* for September, 1884, and for an excellent account of the Kraal at Kaikávala in 1886 by Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., see *MacMillan's Magazine* for January 7, 1888, under the title of "Something like a bag: some experiences of an Elephant Kraal in Ceylon."

† This able officer was a son-in-law of Sir Henry Ward, Governor (as was his contemporary, Mr. A. Young Adams), and he has left ample testimony of his talents in the excellent reports on irrigation and other subjects written by him. To the regret of all who witnessed his brilliant and prosperous career, he was forced to resign his appointment much too early in life owing to severe injuries sustained to his thigh by repeated fractures in two unfortunate accidents.

‡ Vol. XI., Nos. 269 (August 20), 271 (September 3, 1864).

§ Mr. Birch was foully assassinated in the Straits Settlements, while holding office there as Colonial Secretary.

the merit is due of having first drawn attention to these very beautiful ruins.

Mr. Bailey, who seems naturally offended at the undeserved slight passed on it by Tennent, expressed his opinion that—

Yapahoo is certainly the finest specimen of exquisite work, ... in point of architectural beauty and richness of design far excels all the ancient capitals of the Island.

The ruins of the palace—

prove that in design and execution the architects of Ceylon, in the thirteenth century, had certainly not deteriorated since the days of their predecessors, when Anuradhapoora flourished.

The correctness of this judgment is more than amply supported by what has been disclosed by the restoration of some of the ruins in 1887, by Mr. A. E. Williams of the Public Works Department, to whose Report I am indebted for the information as to the progress, completion, and details of the work which he carried out.

Mr. L. C. Wijesiṇha, the learned translator of the *Maháwaṇsa*, notes—

The names *Subha-pabbata*, *Subháchala*, *Subha-giri*, are all meant for the city of *Yápauwa—pabbata*, *achala*, and *giri* being synonyms for "mountain." *Subha-pabbata* would mean "the beautiful mountain," and so would the Siṇhalese *Yáhau*, contracted to *Yápau*.*

And Mr. P. A. Templer, Government Agent :—

The proper Siṇhalese name is *Yasapauwa—yasa* meaning fine and *pauwa* (*parvata*) a mountain. *S* and *h* being interchangeable, *Yasapauwa* became *Yahapauwa*, and then *Yapauwa;* the lost *h* being ultimately transferred to the latter part of the name and making it *Yapahuwa*.† The natives, even the most intelligent, have never been able to give any explanation of the name, beyond a hesitating reference to *á pahu* "back again," of which it was supposed to be a corruption.

The city was founded during the usurpation of Mágha, about 1225 A.D. Amongst the chieftains who "had built for themselves in the great strongholds and mountainous parts of the country, cities and hamlets," and "defended the

* *Maháwaṇsa*, XC., p. 315, notes.

† Administration Reports of the North-Western Province, 1886, p. 45A.

people and the religion from the disturber," was Subha Sénápati, a noted general.

He built a city like unto Alakamandá on the top of *Subha Pabbata*, a mountain difficult of access to the enemy, and dwelt there like unto Vessavana, keeping at a distance the Keraḷa demons and defending that portion of the country and the religion thereof.*

When King Parákrama Báhu II., owing to old age and infirmity, made over the government of the kingdom to his son Vijaya Báhu IV. at about the close of the thirteenth century, the latter selected his brother Bhuvanéka Báhu to "command the great army that held the northern country," and sent him "to tarry at *Sundara Pabbata* (Yápahuwa) as an outpost against the invading Tamils."†

The ruler of the land then journeyed throughout the country and, after a visit to Kurunégala, took with him "the four-fold army" to *Subhagiri* (Yápahuwa.) At this time Chandabhánu, at the head of a powerful army, proceeded to and encamped at Yápahuwa, but he and his men were utterly defeated and put to confusion after "a fierce battle like unto the battle of Ráma."‡

Thereafter the king—

enclosed that city with a high wall and a moat, and built there and finished a palace of exceeding great beauty, and made provision for the support of the great priesthood that dwelt in that city. And he encouraged his younger brother Bhuwanéka Báhu and caused him to stay there as before.§

On the murder of King Vijaya Báhu in the second year of his reign, at the instigation of his treacherous General Mitta, Prince Bhuvanéka Báhu, who was then in Dambadeṇiya, fled from that city and journeyed by night in a litter to *Subháchala* (Yápahuwa). Mitta's men overtook him, and hurled their pointed weapons at the litter with such fury that the trappings gave way. The prince leaped out of the carriage and made his escape to Káḷagalla, where, mounting an elephant, he crossed the great river Koḷabhinna, which

* *Maháwaṇsa*, LXXXI., p. 271.
† *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII., p. 303.
‡ *Maháwaṇsa*, LXXXVIII., p. 305.
§ *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII., p. 306.

was then in flood, and continued his flight till he reached *Subha-pabbata.**

Mitta was soon afterwards slain. Bhuvanéka Báhu was brought back to Dambadeṇiya by the army, which stood faithful to the royal family, and anointed king in 1277 A.D. After subduing his Tamil foes he remained a few years in Dambadeṇiya and then removed the seat of Government, as well as the sacred relics, to *Subháchala*, "and caused that royal city to be greatly extended and adorned, so that it shone with exceedingly great beauty, and himself dwelt there." The king who caused this handsome palace to be built was a zealous Buddhist, and caused copies of the *Tripiṭaka* to be written and distributed over the Island. He established daily offerings to the *daḷadá* or "tooth-relic."

The king died after reigning eleven years. A severe famine then broke out, and the country was invaded by a Páṇḍiyan army commanded by Ariya Chakkravati, who, having laid waste the country—

entered the great and noble fortress the city of *Subhagiri.* And he took the venerable Tooth-relic and all the solid wealth that was there, and returned to the Pandian country.†

In 1288 the seat of Government was transferred to Polonnaruwa, since when Yápahuwa ceased to be the capital; nevertheless it continued to be a place of considerable importance for over 200 years thereafter.

In the reign of Sree Praakarama Kotta, a descendant of the royal family was made Dissave of Yapahoo, and shortly after the accession of Jaya Bahoo II., 1464 A.D., he rebelled, put the king to death, and was raised to the throne under the title of Bhuvaneka Bahoo VI.

In 1527 A.D. Yapahoo was the place of refuge of the two elder sons of Wijaya Bahoo VII., when they fled from their father, who sought their lives. They assembled their forces, and attacking him in their turn, murdered him, and the eldest became king as Bhuvaneka Bahoo VII.

The last mention of Yapahoo in history is in the reign of Don Juan Dharmapaala, whom the Portuguese set up in 1542 A.D.; when among the many aspirants to the throne, one, a Malabar, took up his residence

* *Maháwaṇsa*, XC., p. 313. † *Maháwaṇsa*, XC. p., 315.

here. It was probable at this time that the city was destroyed by the Portuguese ; and it has ever since been deserted.*

A copy of *Yápahuwa Vistaraya* (the poorest specimen of a *Vistaraya* I have seen, being especially scanty of information) ascribes the building of the city to King Parákrama Báhu, and gives the following quaint particulars in respect thereof :—

Eight gows from Anurádhapura, attended by the chief ministers and other officers of State of the three kingdoms, the building of the city of Yápahu Nuwara was begun on the rock called *Sundaragiri-paruwata*, after which the city was named.

That same king (Parákrama Báhu) commanded that it should be constructed of stone only, and that the following workmen should be engaged : 120 lacs of masons, 100 chief blacksmiths, 250 *haṇgidi*, 3,000 painters, 400 carvers.

The Adigárs thereupon commanded some to cut stone pillars, some to carve, some to smooth, some to carve figures, some to paint, some to carve figures of elephants, some figures of lions, some of wolves, some figures of men, some of geese, some of birds, some *nága* figures, some figures of gods, some figures of women, some of creepers, some of parrots, some of peacocks, some figures of beaters of tom-toms, some figures of dancers engaged in the act of dancing, some of conch-blowers engaged in blowing, some of figures engaged in wrestling, some to carve representations of beds, some of stone doors, some of stone doorposts, and some of stone steps. These stones were then painted over by the painters.

In this style four *máligáwal* of nine storeys each were built, with stairs leading up to them. Round these 500 smaller houses of inferior workmanship were also built.

A store eighty cubits high, 500 houses outside the fort, 1,000 double shutters for the houses, a stone wall 7 ft. high, a metal rampart encircling it, 1,000 golden arches, 1,000 silver arches, were also constructed, and adorned with 1,000 flags with flaps and cloth dolls appended thereto, there being also 1,000 elephants, 1,000 horses, 24,000 mercenaries, 2 lacs and 68,000 inhabitants in all.

Like Ṣakraya, enjoying health and happiness, and so reigning, the king built and adorned the city, the only material used being stone.

The great King Parákrama Báhu told his ministers who lived here that it was improper to live in this world without considering the life in this world and the life to come, and published by beat of tom-tom the injunction that all should fulfil the precepts of *aṭa-sil*, *pan-sil*, hear *baṇa*, give alms and robes to priests, plant *bó*-trees, make offerings,

* *Once a Week*, Vol. XI., p, 284.

and honour and maintain their parents. Accordingly the king gave alms to 500 priests, 500 novices, and to the sick.

These deeds being insufficient to entitle him to merit, the king, after reigning eleven years, and looking to the cave of *Ṛes-seruwa*, on Thursday, under the asterism *Pusa-ṇeketta*, departed to heaven!

Yápahuwa is a gigantic solitary boulder, the greater part of one side of which is perfectly perpendicular, rising abruptly from the plain, and commanding a glorious and extensive view of the surrounding level country, whose jungle-covered surface is picturesquely broken by numerous isolated hills and rocks with which it is studded. A bund runs right round it in front, enclosing a considerable area.

At a point some 200 ft. above the plain, to which the ground slopes with a steep descent, was built the Palace. On one side of the Palace stands the *Daḷadá Máligáwa*, below it lay the city, of which the only vestige remaining is an occasional embankment which tells of some pleasant tank that has been dry for ages.

The absence of all remnant of the dwellings of the people, which is the case with regard to all the ruined cities in Ceylon, is easily accounted for by the fact, that under the native Government only royal and religious buildings and those of the higher nobility were built of stone; the lower orders being only permitted to erect houses of the most temporary description.*

Knox, in his quaint description of the houses of his time, supports this theory; while the custom which prevailed among the native potentates was so tenaciously adhered to that even after the British occupation, when permission was granted to natives of certain rank to tile their dwellings, "the said privilege" was only extended to "persons who have or may receive commissions for office under the signature of the Governor of the Island."*

The city was approached by water supplied from the adjacent tank, a sufficient depth of water being maintained when necessary by bunds raised outside the main or city bund, thus affording a moat of considerable depth and width all round the city. These bunds are in an excellent state of preservation.†

* *Once a Week*, *l. c.*, p. 226.

† Mr. A. E. Williams (Sessional Paper LI., 1886, p. 1).

At the time of Mr. Bailey's visit he found the *Daladá Máligáwa*—"a plain stone building without ornamentation, and hardly worth describing"—"substantial and in wonderful preservation." His description of the ruins of the palace, as he found them thirty and seven years before any attempt was made to restore them, is worth reproducing.

The palace was approached by a succession of three flights of steps. The first leads over the main bund—

into what are now paddy fields, but which doubtless formed the business part of the city,

and consists of twenty-four steps with a plain balustrade. A few of these were in 1850 in tolerable order.

The entrance chiefly used now is a breach in the bund made by the priest in charge of the viháré. A fine double-stone culvert built through this bund, and still in use, takes off the water so enclosed into the moat outside.

The second flight of steps had almost disappeared in 1850. Mr. Bailey says:—

The nature of the ground, a steep sloping bank, with frequent rocks, required the erection of a mass of masonry to support it. This has fallen away, and the steps* are doubtless covered by the *débris* of the building and the vegetable deposits of ages. Here and there a huge stone shows its edge; and the course of the flight is traceable by the stanchion-holes, which appear on the faces of the rocks up which it led.†

This flight opens on to a terrace, from which rises the last flight. It consists of thirty-five steps, flanked with "balustrades of grotesque design and very elaborate execution." One side of the upper flight Bailey found entirely overturned, and the grotesque and emblematic figures which formed that side of the balustrade lay half or entirely buried in the ground. It was wonderful that what remained should be so perfect.

The grand entrance to the palace is now reached.

It is impossible not to be struck with its graceful proportions.

* Discovered by Mr. Williams to be 40 in number.

† *Once a Week*, *l. c.*, p. 226.

It is composed of three huge blocks of stone. The doorposts, or jambs—each a single stone—measure 11 ft. 6 in., exclusive of foundations, and are in girth 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. The lintel is a single stone, 8 ft. 6 in. long, but of greater bulk than the jambs. They are beautifully fluted, and the carving is as sharp as when the mason laid his chisel down. On either side are columns, whose capitals represent the lotus flower depressed. These are sadly out of the perpendicular, and if, indeed, they have not already fallen, I fear they soon will leave the doorway standing by itself, for they are built, and not, as most of the columns are, hewn out of a solid block.*

The doorway opens into a moderately-sized hall, which was lighted by two windows, one on either side of the door, of rare and exquisite carving.

One was perfect in 1850, but the other had fallen and its fragments were scattered around. The remaining one would doubtless have soon shared its fate, had not Mr. O'Grady, then Government Agent of the North-Western Province, removed it to Kurunégala, where, in the beautiful grounds of his residence, itself the site of the royal city of *Hastisailapura*, he erected it with other choice specimens of stone carving as a monument to ancient art.† Thence it was transported to Colombo, and now occupies a prominent place among the archæological exhibits at the Museum.

The description which Mr. Bailey gives of this window, accompanied by a sketch, is too deliciously graphic to be omitted :—

The name given to it (the window) by the natives exactly describes it—"Sivoomædurukaooloowa," "the perforated palace window." It consists of one slab of stone measuring 4 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 3 in., and 7 in. thick. This thickness, however, is only preserved along the mouldings at its outer edges. Within the mouldings it has been reduced to an uniform thickness of three inches.

The surface of the slab of stone has been perforated into forty-five rings or circles, which admitted the light into the entrance hall, somewhat in the fashion of the tracery work at the Tâj at Agra. In each circle is a sculptured figure, and scarely two figures are alike. . . . The circles of the lowest row contain grotesque Bachanalian figures, which represent jolly, laughing fellows, and are executed with great humour. Above them are nâtch girls, all slightly different in attitude. They occur again in four circles near the centre of the

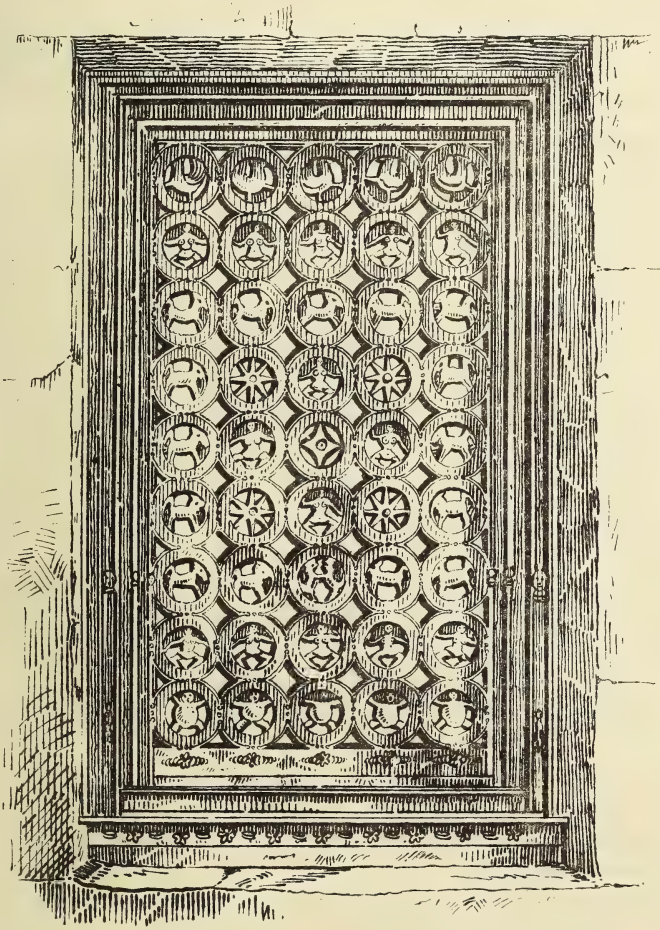
* *Once a Week*, *l. c.*, p. 281. † *Once a Week*, *l. c.*, p. 283.

window, and in a row near the top. The row of circles above the nâtch girls contains figures of animals, which are repeated vertically along the mouldings on each side of the window and continued in a horizontal row, the third from the top; in short, they form the outer ridge of a square pattern, comprising the twenty-five centremost circles of the window. The figures of these animals, it will be noted, vary considerably. Eight have the elephant's trunk, and are evidently intended to represent the "gaja-siṉha." It is remarkable that this is, so far as I know—and there are very few ruins in Ceylon that I have not thoroughly examined—the only example in which the fabulous animal is represented in any but a couchant attitude. Seven appear to be the same animal without the trunk, in which case (since the "gaja-siṉha" is the "elephant-lion"), the characteristic of the former being removed, the latter should remain; but I am bound to say the resemblance to a lion in these seven circles is the very faintest. But the centre circle of the third row from the bottom contains a pair of perfect lions rampant. The nine circles remaining of the twenty-five before mentioned form again a distinct square pattern within the other, of which four lotus flowers, or stars, mark the angles. The row of circles at the top of the window contain figures of the "hansa," the "royal," rather than the "sacred," bird, of which Tennent has given so many curious particulars, and which in Ceylon as well as in Burma was one of the emblems of the national banner. If this be intended for the "hansa," as I believe it to be, it certainly differs from the usual representation of it, and much more nearly resembles the Burmese figure as given by Tennent (Vol. I., p. 485, first edition). It is very unlike the bird as it appears in the sculptures at Anuradhapoora (Vol. II., p 619), and the clay figure of it in the palace at Kandy (Vol. I., p. 487); it is equally unlike one of the oldest "hansas" I have seen—a beautifully moulded relief on a brick from the very ancient NagaWihare at Maagampattoo, mentioned in the *Mahâwaṉsa* and founded by Maha Naaga, brother of Devenipia Tissa, 306 B.C., the founder of the ancient city of Maagama.

The peculiar beauty of the window consists rather in the general effect produced by the arrangement of the figures with which it is so profusely decorated, than in the ornamentation itself. Seen from a little distance the details are lost, and the window appears to be of beautiful tracery work and of regular pattern. It is only when closely examined that the quaint designs I have endeavoured to describe are observed. . . . It is much to be regretted that the rough texture of the stone should be so unworthy of the skill of the sculptor. Had it been executed in white marble, or even in the magnesian limestone which abounds in Ceylon, the effect would have been infinitely more lovely.*

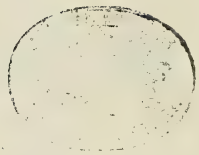
* *Once a Week, l. c.*, pp. 281–83. The sketch is reproduced from the engravings in Mr. Bailey's Paper.

—YÁPAHUWA.—



Stone Window.

Lith: O. Saldin. Colombo.



Mr. Bailey found the whole of the superstructure on one side of the doorway had disappeared, but two of the walls of the vestibule on the left hand as you enter the doorway were saved ; but the displacement of the stones foretold that the fate which attended the corresponding wing on the right, which had quite fallen away, would overtake it.

The doorway opens upon the terrace, the palace having been built upon the sloping ground, at the base of the wall of rock, which rises many hundred feet above the surrounding plain ; the foundations were consequently of the most substantial description, and the masonry raised upon them very massive. Mr. Bailey says :—

But nothing can exceed the regularity of the courses of cut stone and the perfect fitting and binding of each block. Both the terraces which project in advance of the main building and the main building itself are ornamented with carved stone moulding, below which are groups of figures in bold relief, resting on a lower moulding, designed to represent the upturned leaves of the lotus. The figures are excellent, and in great variety of attitude. They represent nâtch girls, not oppressed with clothing, who are dancing with great spirit to the energetic music of tom-tom beaters and flageolet players, whose whole souls are in their work. The intense gravity of their faces is admirable ; while the whole scene is so well "told" that you can almost fancy you can see their heads nodding in time to their music, and hear the castanets in the girls' hands. The overhanging moulding has protected these figures from the weather, and the details are perfect. The ornaments of the female figures and the expression of their faces are as though the sculptor had but just completed his work.*

Commenting on the ruins of the palace, Mr. Bailey writes—

It is probable that the building was never completed ; and this its brief occupation as the seat of government renders more than likely. For it is impossible to conceive that masonry so substantial and sculpture so elaborate would have been lavished on a building which was intended to be of such modest extent. The existing ruins appear to have been those only of the entrance hall of some magnificent palace which it was designed to complete. For the remains are indeed those of a building too small even for convenient residence, though sufficiently large to have served for the state entrance to a noble palace, which, if completed in the same style, would have far eclipsed in magnificence anything which is to be found at Pollannarua or Anuradhapoora.†

* *Once a Week*, *l. c.*, p. 281. † *Once a Week*, *l. c.*, p. 227.

Mr. Williams, under instructions from the Government conveyed through the Director of Public Works, rebuilt in 1886 the third or topmost flight of steps, with its heavy and elaborate balustrades, as well as the Palace surmounting.*

He found that the whole of the balustrading on the left side of the steps (looking up towards the main gate) had fallen down, and that the stones were almost entirely buried. The existence of the walling on one side, though in a very ruinous condition, gave him an idea of the original design, and acted as a guide in restoring the missing side.†

The first work, which involved both time and labour, was the collecting of the missing stones, most of which had to be dug out from a considerable depth below the surface. A good rubble masonry foundation was then laid, the wall rebuilt, and the carved figures placed in position. The other side was then pulled down and rebuilt, the stones being previously numbered. The steps were all reset from the bottom.

The two "siṉhayás" which surmounted the pedestals on either flank of the lower steps had to be supported by an iron bar let into the chest and base of each, as the forefeet of both had broken off in their fall, the pieces being found and cemented on.

Mr. Williams does not think the "gaja-siṉhas" a pair, one of which had evidently never been completed. From this fact, as well as after careful examination of the work, he concludes that the last flight of steps and vestibule constituted simply the entrance to what was intended for a very elaborate building; moreover, that it was at the last built hurriedly.‡

* Why his report should purport to be on "The Restoration of the *Daḷadá Máligáwa*" is unaccountable, that building being quite distinct from the *Palace*, as already pointed out.

† In the middle of 1889 a slight settlement on the left hand side near the top of the upper flight of steps was discovered.

‡ Mr. H. Nevill, C.C.S., inclines to the belief that the picturesque ruins were those of the *Daḷadá* or "tooth relic" sanctuary, and a part only of the royal Palace. The relative positions of the later Palace at Kandy, and the

On the rises of some of the steps were found Tamil figures roughly cut in the stone, from which Mr. Williams infers that the workmen were brought from India.

The walling to the right of the main entrance had entirely disappeared, but as in the case of the balustrade, the existing wall on the opposite side afforded an accurate model for rebuilding.

A monolithic pillar, 13 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft., stands at each angle of these two halls. Two of these columns had to be lifted up from a depth of some 30 ft. to 40 ft.

which was a matter of difficulty owing to limited tackle.

The lintel of the main doorway had to be lifted up nearly 13 in. to allow of the jambs being raised and set plumb ; the jambs, exclusive of foundation, are 11 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., and the lintel 8 ft. 6 in. long and nearly twice the thickness of the jambs.

All the platforms upon which these halls rested had to be rebuilt, from the wonderfully carved dado that runs quite round the building ; in fact, the whole top work had sunk inwards, and was both out of level and out of the perpendicular.

Two very beautiful monolithic columns remain unfixed.

The place they should occupy is pointed out and fixed on the ground plan accompanying the report.

One is broken into three pieces ; holes have been drilled in the broken pieces for doweling them together.

Two other most elaborately carved columns, whose place is indicated on the plan, were discovered much broken. None of these were fixed owing to the necessity of some support, and from a slight uncertainty about their position. The ground on both sides of the building was full of broken tiles, proving the existence of a former roof.

One column was found quite by itself at the back of the palace, but its position could not be determined.

A very beautiful stone was found over 4 ft. below the surface some way to the right of the main gateway, pointing to the suspicion that it was on its way to the Wihára below. The stone is cut into the form of a lotus, resting upon a similar inverted flower of much larger dimensions. It was possibly used for placing offerings on.

Daḷadá sanctuary there, a part of the palace precints, he concludes, afford an existing illustration of this combination of temple and palace.—*Taprobanian*, February, 1887, p. 8.

The two windows were filled in with bricks faced in cement to give a support to the right window, the carved stone over it being badly broken in its fall to the bottom, and for the sake of harmony in the other.

The frame of the right window was found with the exception of two or three pieces, which could easily be dressed and fitted ; but the carved tracery work, save a very few pieces, is still missing. If this frame were fixed, even without the carved work, Mr. Williams thought a replica of the frame of the window in Colombo would be required for the other side. It was found necessary to point most of the joints in cement, to keep off vegetation, which has been the ruin of all ancient buildings in Ceylon.*

Mr. Williams proposed that the ground between the palace and the rock should be excavated by running cross trenches to ascertain if any buildings existed there. Another place where excavation might yield interesting and satisfactory results is, he conjectured, at the steps leading into the city on the tank side, as everything that came in and went out of the city must have passed over these steps.

Although these proposed excavations were to be taken in hand shortly after the restoration of the Palace, for one reason and another they were ultimately abandoned. It is to be hoped that they may be undertaken by the Archæological Commissioner when he is free to extend his labours in this direction.

It is much to be regretted that the restored buildings do not receive sufficient attention, and lack all supervision. The buildings and the surroundings could, with very little trouble and expense, be looked after and kept clear of weeds and jungle, but they are shamefully neglected. Steps should

* For the substantial manner at least in which he executed the work entrusted to him Mr. Williams deserves some credit ; but one cannot help agreeing with the remark of Sir Arthur Gordon (now Lord Stanmore), on a visit paid to Yápahuwa in 1889, that : "A pity so much mortar was used : it destroys the character of the ancient stone work."

be taken to see that the clearing and weeding are done regularly and systematically, and not by fits and starts. The Government have given a vote for this purpose, and some responsible person should be entrusted with the supervision of the work and the necessary outlay on it.

Under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1889, section 4, and by Proclamation in the *Gazette* of November 15, 1889, Yápahuwa was constituted a district, and it comprised the following sub-districts:—(1) Hiriyála Hatpattu, (2) Vanni Hatpattu, (3) Demala Hatpattu, and (4) Rájakumáravanni Hatpattu of Puttalam. In consequence of the difficulty and at times the impossibility of working the statutory provisions, and the confusing changes which have from time to time been introduced in respect of the constitution of the district and sub-districts, the divisions above referred to do not exist, and the Ordinance is a veritable dead letter in the North-Western Province.

The population of Yápahuwa, according to the Census of 1881, was 8 houses, with 8 families, consisting of 14 males and 10 females, total 24 persons. That for 1891 is given as 10 houses, 10 families, 19 males, and 21 females, making a total of 40 persons. Even making every allowance for the figures employed by the anonymous author of *Yápahuva Vistaraya* (which partake of the exaggeration common to all Oriental narratives, with regard to the population which once filled the city), who can picture to himself the magnificence and splendour, the life and bustle, the gorgeous processions in which kings and queens were conveyed in golden chariots drawn by gaily caparisoned horses, and recall the gay sites where of old was held high festival with revelry and song, and not realize the sad truth that—

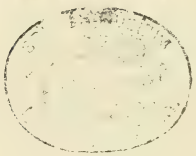
> It was a gallant spot in days of yore,
> But something ails it now: the place is curst.

4. The LORD BISHOP in addressing the Meeting said he regretted that he was unable to add anything to what had been written by Mr. Modder about these ruins in his Paper. He had hoped when last in the North-Western Province to visit these ruins ; but was prevented from doing so. He hoped, however, before long to visit the spot. The Society was much indebted to Mr. Modder for his Paper and for the trouble taken in its preparation.

About the description of the window there was one matter Mr. Modder did not refer to ; and that was the four-spoked wheel in the middle of the window. He thought Mr. Modder should be asked about this. There were minute descriptions given about all the drawings on the window, but no reference was made to this wheel in the middle of it.

5. A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Modder for his Paper, on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Swettenham seconded by Mr. Harward.

6. A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.



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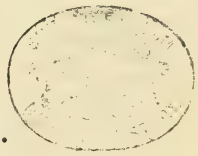
OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1894.



VOLUME XIII.

No. 45.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

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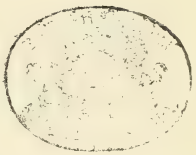
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ERRATUM.

Page 142, for "Committee Meeting" *read* "Council Meeting."

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 15, 1894.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.

Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha. | Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on November 7, 1893.

2. Laid on the table Circular No. 407 of November 8, 1893, containing a Paper by Mr. T. B. Pohath, entitled "A Sketch of the Life of Ḗhelapola Adigár," referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for their opinions.

Resolved,—That the author be thanked for his Paper, but in view of the opinions of the Sub-Committee it be not accepted.

3. Laid on the table a letter dated September 1, 1893, from the University of North Carolina, United States of America, inviting an exchange of publications.

Resolved,—That the Institution be thanked for its kind offer, but informed that the Council regret that they are unable to assent to the proposal.

4. Read letter dated November 30, 1893, from Mr. J. F. W. Gore, reporting progress with the "Index" to the Society's Journals.

5. Read letter from Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, dated November 9, 1893, and addressed to the Honorary Secretary, regarding the sale of the Society's publications in England.

Resolved,—That Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson be asked whether they are ready to carry on the agency upon the terms specified in their letter of April 10, 1888.

6. Laid on the table "Revised List of Members." Mr. Harward explained that the Council's resolution No. 11 of November 7, 1883, "any Member not paying arrears of subscriptions by December 1, 1893, shall be struck off the List of Members," could not be carried out owing to the Honorary Treasurer having accepted subscriptions after that date from Members who were in arrear, and also as no notification had been given to Members of the Council's resolution.

Resolved,—That as the resolution has not been put in force, the date up to which subscriptions may be accepted from defaulting Members be fixed at February 15, and that notice be issued to the Members accordingly.

7. Read a letter from Mr. F. H. Modder, dated January 4, 1893, regarding his becoming a Life Member.

Resolved,—That the Secretary do communicate with Mr. Modder in accordance with Rule 31.

8. Laid on the table a Paper from Dr. Solomon Fernando on "Buddhism," together with his letter dated December 5, 1893.

Resolved,—That the author be thanked for forwarding the Paper, but that he be informed that as it is in the nature of a controversial discussion it cannot be accepted.

9. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1894.

The Honorary Secretary stated that under Rule 16, Mr. Staniforth Green and Dr. Trimen vacated their seats by reason of seniority, and by reason of least attendance the Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna, Mr. D. W. Ferguson, and Dr. H. M. Fernando.

Resolved,—That Mr. Staniforth Green and Dr. Trimen be nominated for re-election for 1894, and that Mr. D. W. Ferguson and Dr. H. M. Fernando should be deemed to have retired by reason of least attendance.

10. Resolved,—That the Secretary do communicate with Mr. A. P. Green, and inform him that as he is contemplating a trip to England as mentioned in his letter of November 8 last, the Council have decided to nominate another Member to take up the duties of Honorary Treasurer for 1894.

11. Resolved,—That Mr. A. Thomson be asked to allow himself to be nominated by the Council Honorary Treasurer for 1894.

12. Resolved,—To nominate the following Office-Bearers for the year 1894 :—

President.—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S. ; and the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.

Council.

Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S.	Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.	Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Mr. Staniforth Green.	Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.	Mr. H. F. Tomalin, A.R.I.B.A.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.	Dr. H. Trimen.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.	Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Hon. Treasurer.—Mr. A. Thomson.

Hon. Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. ; John Harward, M.A. ; and Gerard A. Joseph.

13. Resolved,—That Mr. Stanley Bois be asked to kindly consent to audit the Society's accounts for 1893.

14. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on January 27, 1894, that His Excellency the Governor be asked to preside, and that the following be the business :—

(1) To read the Annual Report for 1893.
(2) Election of Office-Bearers for 1894.

15. Read and approved, subject to certain amendments, the draft of the Council's Report for 1893.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 27, 1894.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.

Mr. A. P. Green. | Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
Mr. S. G. Lee. | Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : Six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on December 2, 1893.
2. Read the following Annual Report for 1893, viz. :—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1893.

THE Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to lay before this Meeting the Annual Report for the year 1893.

Meetings.

Five General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year. The following is a list of the Papers read :—

(1) "The Nidification of *Sturnornis senex* (White-headed Starling) and *Cissa ornata* (Ceylon Blue Jay)," by Mr. F. Lewis.
(2) "Notes on Knox's 'Ceylon' in its Literary Aspect," by Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
(3) "*Kurunégala Vistaraya*, with Notes on Kurunégala, Ancient and Modern," by Mr. F. H. Modder.
(4) "The Epic of Parákrama," by the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President.
(5) A Statement by Mr. G. Wall, Vice-President, with regard to the continuation of his series of Papers on the "Ancient Industries of Ceylon."
(6) "Chilappatikáram," by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.
(7) "Ancient Cities and Temples in the Kurunégala District: Yápahuwa," by Mr. F. H. Modder.

Members.

The number of Members of the Society is now 200. Of these, 7 are Honorary Members, 17 are Life Members, and 176 are Ordinary Members.

During the year 1893 nine Ordinary Members were elected, viz., Messrs. J. Harward, G. A. Joseph, N. Mendis Mudaliyár, E. Booth, T. B. Pohath, A. M. Perera, O. Collette, S G. Lee, and J. E. Pohath.

The following seven Members have resigned, viz., Rev. J. Scott, Ven. E. F. Miller, Messrs. W. van Langenberg, H. Bois, and H. Fraser, Miss Frèdoux and the Hon. R. Reid, C.C.S.

The Council have the melancholy duty of recording the loss which the Society has sustained by the death of four of its Members:—Col. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G., Vice-President; Dr. F. A. Vandersmagt, Mr. William Goonetilleke, and Mr. M. S. Crawford, C.C.S.

By the death of Col. Clarke the Society has lost one who took a keen interest in its proceedings, and whose intellectual gifts were of an unusually high order.

Mr. William Goonetilleke, though for many years a Member of the Society, took little part in its proceedings, but his loss is one which must be felt most keenly by all who take an interest in Oriental scholarship and research. His brilliant natural gifts, enlarged as they were by years of unceasing study, had earned for him a high reputation in Europe as well as in the East.

The Council regret to have to call the attention of the Society to the number of Members who owe heavy arrears of subscriptions. In some of these cases they have been obliged to issue a final notice that, unless the arrears are paid before a certain date, the Members' names will be removed from the Society's list.

Library.

The Library has been enriched during the past year by the addition of 232 volumes, pamphlets, and periodicals. The works added to the collection have been acquired chiefly by the exchange of publications with Societies and learned Institutions in Europe and America.

The Society has gratefully to acknowledge the substantial additions that continue to be made to the Library by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State in Council for India. Several works of reference, directories, handbooks, &c., referring to India have been presented during the past year.

The Library is also indebted to the following donors for additions to its collection, viz.:—The Ceylon Government; the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, James Burgess, F.R.G.S., &c.; the Lord Bishop of Colombo; the Colombo Museum Committee; the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy; Messrs. F. H. M. Corbet, J. M. Perera, and G. A. Joseph.

The book cases are rapidly filling up again, and the need of greater accommodation for the books has been felt. The Library wants a room large enough to allow of expansion, and to permit of a rational classification of the books upon the shelves. An extension of the building will alone meet the emergency; and the Society therefore welcome the steps taken by the Government to provide, in the near future, premises sufficient for all requirements.

Catalogue.

A simple catalogue (as suggested in the last Annual Report) has been begun, and it is hoped will be completed and printed by the end of 1894. The work of cataloguing has been considerably delayed owing to the non-return of books by Members. Special requisitions (on the authority of the Council) for their return were issued, but in some cases have not been noticed. Members are requested to return any books in their possession called for, in order that the work of cataloguing may be pushed on.

Journals.

The Society has published during the year the following numbers of its Journal, viz.:—Vol. XII., No. 43, 1892, containing the following

Papers: (1) "The Verification of the Ancient Chronicles of Ceylon," by the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President; (2) "Sinhalese Weights and Measures," by F. H. Modder; (3) "The Identification of the Sirivadhanapura of the *Mahávaṇsa*, Chapter LXXXV.," by the Lord Bishop of Colombo; (4) "Riṭigala," by J. B. M. Ridout; (5) "Notes on the Nidification of *Chrysophlegma xanthoderus*," by F. Lewis. Vol. XI., No. 40, 1890: (1) "Wouter Schouten's Account of Ceylon," translated from the Dutch by P. Freudenberg; (2) "Henricus van Bystervelt's Embassy to Kandy," translated from the Dutch by F. H. de Vos; (3) "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégala," by F. H. Modder.

A reprint of Journal No. 12, 1860-61, is nearly completed. Several other Numbers of the Journal having gone out of print, it has been decided to reprint them, and this will be gradually done.

All arrears in the issue of the publication of the Journals of the Society have been caught up. Vol. XI., No. 41, of 1890, containing Lieut.-Colonel St. George's translation of "Joao Rodriguez de Sá e Menezes' Rebelion de Ceylan," and the Proceedings of 1889-90, are ready, and are laid on the table with this Report.

The Journal for 1893, Vol. XII., No. 44, is also ready, and an advance copy of it is laid on the table this evening. This is the first time the Society has been able to bring out its Journal so expeditiously, —the result chiefly of printing Papers in advance of their being read, and to the amalgamation of the Journal and Proceedings under the scheme referred to in the Annual Report for 1892. The Council feel that the thanks of the Society are due both to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his labours as Editorial Secretary, and to the Government Printer and his Assistants, without whose ready co-operation and assistance so much editing work could not have been accomplished.

The Council constantly receive applications from Societies and Institutions for exchanges of publications or for donations of our Journal. These applications, though in some cases the Council has been obliged owing to their number to refuse, yet afford gratifying testimony of the increasing appreciation entertained for the publications of the Society.

Index to Journals.

Mr. J. F. W. Gore has laid the Society under an obligation by undertaking the work of compiling a full Index to the Society's publications. In this work he has now made considerable progress. The task, which in itself involves great labour, has been rendered more difficult by the fact that the pages in the reprinted Journals do not correspond with those of the original editions. Mr. Gore has devoted much labour and ingenuity to removing this difficulty, and the Index is being drawn up in such a way that it can be used by those who have the original or reprinted editions or mixed sets. The pagination of all future reprints will be uniform with that of the original editions.

Archæology.

All interested in the Archæological Survey of the Island will read with satisfaction the following brief summary of his year's work with which Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archæological Commissioner (who is one of the Society's Honorary Secretaries), has by request favoured the Council:—

The Archæological Survey of Anurádhapura and the North-Central Province has been steadily advanced during 1893.

In Anurádhapura, with a labour force averaging 100 hands (men, women, and boys), a good deal of fresh excavation was carried out.

North of the town three miles, work on the large dágaba, known as *Kiribat Vehara*, was brought to completion. In addition to the quadrant of the outermost circumference (lowest *pésava*) of the dágaba laid bare by trenching in 1892, the whole of the inner and a portion of the exterior wall of the quadrangle surrounding the dágaba has been traced. The steps and approach on the north, east, and south sides have been opened out, and a shaft, 14 ft. in diameter, sunk down the centre of the dágaba, reaching virgin soil at a depth of some 40 ft. from the present summit of the mound. No relic chamber was discovered, the dágaba (as was anticipated) having been doubtless gutted centuries ago by invaders from Southern India. Much interesting light has, nevertheless, been gained as to the construction of the large dágabas of Anurádhapura, among which should in future be classed *Kiribat Vehera*. The survey shows it to have been approximately 420 ft. in circumference, or somewhat smaller than Miriswęṭiya Dágaba.

The scattered ruins lying in the jungle between Jétawanáráma and the Vijayáráma Monastery have proved, under excavation, to be a *coterie* of Hindú shrines and appurtenant buildings. In two Śíva déwáles the granite lingam was unearthed *in situ*. This was clearly a distinct Tamil quarter.

Excavation has been commenced (i) at the fringe of the Jétawanáráma ruins, near "the Twin Ponds" (*Kuttam-pokuṇu*), and (ii) south-east of the town half a mile across the Malwatu-oya, at *Toḷurela*—the ruins whence the colossal sedent Buddha was removed to the Colombo Museum in 1891-92. This latter group of ruins is likely to prove a monastery as complete and as replete with interest as those of Vijayáráma and Pankuliya already dealt with by the Archæological Survey.

But chief attention has been concentrated on the *Abhayagiriya ruins*. By the excavation of two more sections (east, south-east, and south) the whole of the ruined area about the dágaba has at length been dug, exposing to view in all nearly 100 buildings, large and small, grouped together in distinct yet conterminous monasteries ranged round the stúpa with a regard to order which excites admiration. With the excavation of the four *maṇḍapas* of the dágaba piazza—the clearing of the four off-set altars of the dágaba itself—and the running of a trench round half its base from east to west, and clearing the fallen *débris* off the three ambulatories (*pésaval*)—so as to permit of a true survey of their circumference—work at the Abayagiriya ruins will be closed, and operations shifted to Jetawanáráma, or some other equally important quarter of the ancient city.

In the examination of the antiquities of the North-Central Province, as supplementary to the central work in Anurádhapura, great strides have been made during the past year. The Commissioner, in the course of two circuits, visited all known ruined sites in the following divisions:—Uḍíyankulam, Ulugalla, and Mátombuwa Kóralés of Huruḷu Paláta, and the Kiralava, Unduruva, and part of the Máminiya and Kęḷégan Kóralés of Kęḷégan Paláta.

Of the seventeen kóralés of the extensive, and in great part wild, North-Central Province, thirteen have now been wholly, or in part, examined, and a great number of hitherto unreported inscriptions copied.

A very thorough exploration of the slopes and peaks of that little known range, *Ritigala-kanda*, which rises 2,500 ft. sheer from the plain, resulted in the discovery of valuable additions to the antiquities* of the Province, and incidentally to the small but interesting flora recorded from this mist-topped, forest-clad mountain.

Alteration of Rules.

At a General Meeting held on October 28, 1893, it was resolved that Rule 18 be altered by changing the first word "five" to "four," thereby constituting four Members a quorum of the Council instead of five.

Office of Honorary Treasurer.

Your Council was unfortunately deprived of the valuable services of Mr. F. C. Roles, the Honorary Treasurer, for part of last year, when he left the Island in November. The duties of the Treasurer have since then been kindly undertaken by Mr. A. P. Green.

Finances.

The following is a statement of the income and expenditure of the Society during the year :—

Ledger Balances, December 31, 1893.

	Rs. c.		Rs. c.
Anurádhapura Excavation Account	—	...	642 21
Bank of Madras	199 26	...	—
Books Account	1,142 93	...	—
Charges Account	1,152 99	...	—
Entrance Fees	—	...	73 50
General Revenue Account ...	—	...	1,400 35
Sale of Journals	—	...	2 0
Members' Subscription, 1885 ...	—	...	10 50
Do. 1886 ...	—	...	10 50
Do. 1887 ...	—	...	10 50
Do. 1888 ...	—	...	10 50
Do. 1889 ...	—	...	31 50
Do. 1890 ...	—	...	107 75
Do. 1891 ...	—	...	288 75
Do. 1892 ...	—	...	387 25
Do. 1893 ...	—	...	1,434 50
Do. 1894 ...	—	...	21 0
Printing Account	1,342 43	...	—
Ceylon Savings Bank ...	642 21	...	—
Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. P. Green	—	...	49 1
Total ...	4,479 82		4,479 82

Audited and found correct:
STANLEY BOIS.

A. P. GREEN,
Honorary Treasurer.

Colombo, December 31, 1893.

* For Papers on Ritigala by Dr. H. Trimen and Messrs. A. P. Green and D. M. de Z. Wickremesinghe, see Journal No. 39 ; and by Mr. J. B. M. Ridout, Journal No. 43, 1894.

General Account for 1893.

The Honorary Treasurer in account with the Asiatic Society of Ceylon.

Dr. *Cr.*

	Rs.	c.		Rs.	c.
Balance in Bank of Madras brought forward ...	1,540	17	Purchase of Books ...	37	93
Members' Subscriptions ...	2,314	75	Printing ...	1,342	43
Government Grant...	500	0	Charges Account ...	1,152	99
Entrance Fees ...	73	50	Balance in Bank of Madras ...	199	26
Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. P. Green ...	49	1	Balance in Savings Bank ...	642	21
Balance in Treasurer's hand ...	2	39			
Total ...	4,479	82	Total ...	4,479	82

Audited and found correct :

STANLEY BOIS.

Colombo, December 31, 1893.

A. P. GREEN,
Honorary Treasurer.

Co-operation of Members.

In conclusion, the Council embrace this opportunity of inviting the co-operation of the Members in the work of the Society. The real value of the Society lies in those studies and researches which it promotes amongst its Members. The Council would welcome with pleasure an increase in the number of Papers giving the results of original research in any of the lines of study, which it is the aim and object of the Society to encourage.

2. The Report was adopted on a motion proposed by the Hon. J. A. Swettenham and seconded by Dr. Pinto.

3. The following Office-Bearers for 1894, nominated by the Council, were elected on a motion proposed by Mr. A. P. Green and seconded by Dr. Pinto :—

President.—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., and the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., C.C.S.

Council.

Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Mr. Staniforth Green.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin, A.R.I.B.A.
Dr. H. Trimen, F.R.S.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Honorary Treasurer.—A. Thomson.

Honorary Secretaries.—H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., John Harward, and Gerard A. Joseph.

4. The President returned thanks on behalf of himself and his colleagues for the trust again reposed in them. He congratulated the Society upon a year which had not been a particulary eventful one, but which had been characterized by a great increase in the business-like way in which the Society's affairs had been conducted, as witnessed in particular by the promptness with which the Journal of Proceedings had been placed in their hands that day. He thought they might look forward, with the help of the Members of the Society, on whom, after all, the success of the Meetings depended, to at least an equally successful and interesting year during 1894. (Applause.)

5. A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Monday, March 12, 1894.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. P. Green.	Mr. H. F. Tomalin.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.	Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of a Meeting held on January 15, 1894.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidates for admission into the Society as Resident Members be elected :—

Rev. F. H. de Winton { Proposed / Seconded } by { The Lord Bishop of Colombo. / Mr. J. Harward.

Mr. H. G. Bois { Proposed / Seconded } by { Mr. H. C. P. Bell. / Mr. G. A. Joseph.

3. Submitted a Paper entitled "King Rájadhi Rája Siṅha's Court Jester," by Mr. T. B. Pohath.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṅha and Mr. H. C. P. Bell for report.

4. Laid on the table the following names of Members struck out of the List for default of payment of arrears of subscription, in accordance with the Council's resolution of January 15, 1894, viz.:—

Mr. W. N. P. Aserappa.	Mr. W. A. Ratnayaka.
Mr. D. S. Dias Bandaranayaka.	Mr. K. L. don C. Seneviratne.
Mr. J. M. Chitty.	Mr. A. T. Shamsedeen.
Mr. Peter de Saram.	W. Subhuti Terunnánse.
Mr. C. E. Jayatilleke.	Hon. P. A. Templer.
Dr. H. A. Keegel.	Mr. K. M. Tissainayakam.
Mr. L. F. Lee.	Mr. S. Weerackody.
Mr. W. N. de A. W. Rajapaksa.	

The Honorary Secretary informed the Council that only those Members who had not answered the several letters informing them of their indebtedness to the Society were struck off the list.

Resolved,—That the above-named Members be informed that their names have been removed from the List of Members of the Society.

5. Laid on the table a letter from Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson, dated January 22, 1894, regarding the despatch of publications to Messrs. Trübner & Co.

Resolved,—That the matter be more fully entered into after May if Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson continue to carry on the agency for the Society after that date.

6. Laid on the table a letter from Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson, dated February 26, 1894, inquiring what discount should be given to booksellers for the sale of the Society's publications.

Resolved,—That pending reconsideration of the question Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson be authorized to allow 25 per cent. discount to the trade.

7. Read a letter from Mr. J. F. W. Gore, dated February 21, 1894, reporting further progress in the Index to the Society's publications.

8. The Council was informed that Mr. A. Thomson was unable to undertake the duties of Honorary Treasurer until the middle of the year, and that Mr. A. P. Green had kindly consented to continue to discharge the duties of the office meanwhile.

Resolved,—That Mr. Green be thanked for his offer to thus assist the Society, and that the Council readily accept the offer of Mr. Green's services until relieved by Mr. Thomson.

9. Considered the advisability of binding the several parts of Journals and periodical publications now stored away.

Resolved,—That the Journals and Proceedings of the Parent and Branch Societies of the Asiatic Society be bound at a cost not to exceed Rs. 150, and that the Honorary Secretaries do draw up a list of the other publications which they recommend should be bound.

10. Laid on the table portions of the Catalogue in manuscript, and considered the advisability of printing it.

Resolved,—That the Catalogue be further proceeded with and again submitted to the Council.

11. Laid on the table a letter from the *X^e Congrés International Des Orientalistes* requesting that a Delegate or Delegates be appointed to attend the Congress to be held at Geneva from September 3 to 12, 1894.

Resolved,—That the Parent Society be asked for further particulars about this Congress, and for information as to whether the Society would recommend the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to appoint a Delegate or Delegates.

12. Considered a letter from the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia regarding the transmission of subjects of Natural History.

Resolved,—That the Institution be informed that the transmission of specimens of Natural History form little (or no part whatever) of the objects of this Society.

13. Asked the Council's permission to solicit an exchange of publications with the Buddhist Text Society of India, on the recommendation of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

Resolved,—That Mr. Bell be requested to send a copy of the publications for the information of the Council.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 7, 1894.

Present :

The Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, in the Chair.

Mr. F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár. | Dr. Lisboa Pinto.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. Gerard Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors :—Two ladies and ten gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on June 4, 1894.
2. The following Paper was read by the writer :—

NOTES ON THE SPECIES AND VARIETIES OF TESTUDO IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.

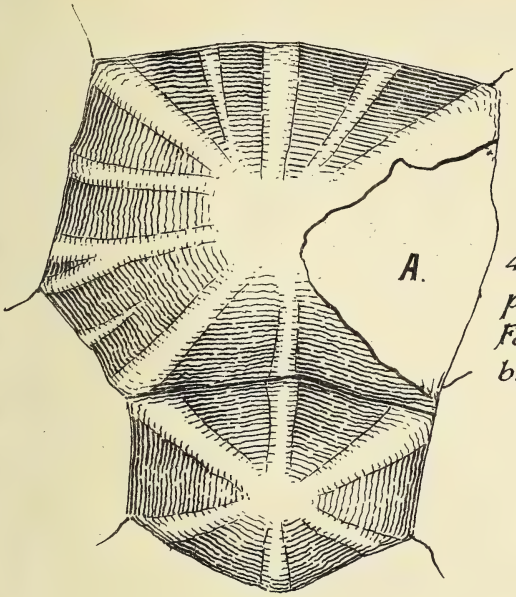
By Mr. AMYRALD HALY, Director of the Colombo Museum.

THE Colombo Museum contains three species of *Testudo* in its collection :—*Testudo elephantina*, Dum. et Bib. ; *Testudo elegans*, Schœpft ; and *Testudo ibera*, Pallas.

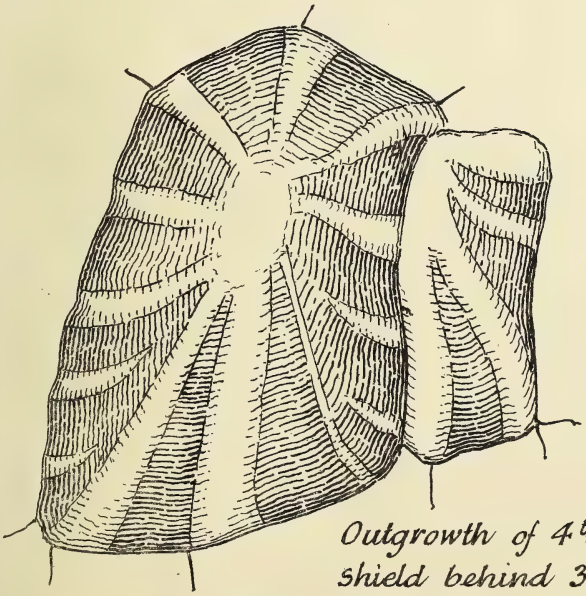
The first of these is the tortoise brought here by the Dutch, which died on March 23 last. This specimen, although mounted and retained in the Museum, can scarcely be said to form part of the Zoological collection : it must be looked upon rather as a reminiscence of old Dutch times, in the same way as a plate, a box, or a sword bearing the monogram "V. O. C." I will therefore say nothing more on this subject, except to refer Members of the Society who wish to become acquainted with the romantic story of our gigantic and extinct tortoises, to Dr. Günther's superb Monograph, or to his two popular Papers on the subject, which will be found in "Nature," Vol. XII., 1875.

For some years I have been very doubtful what species of *Testudo* existed in Ceylon. The collection contains specimens allied to *T. elegans*, but which appeared to me to differ so much from the normal form, that I could only refer them to it provisionally ; and there was also a purchased specimen, which certainly belonged to no species as yet known from India or Ceylon. As I had to determine the species of the large Dutch tortoise, I took the opportunity of carefully examining our other specimens.

We have six stuffed specimens of *T. elegans*, and one young in spirits, presented by Mr. W. Ferguson, who contributed so generously to the formation of the Museum collection. I thought it might be of interest to the Society to point out the great range of variation in this species, especially as I have not seen the subject mentioned in any herpatological works.



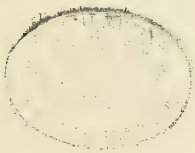
Outgrowth of 4th Vertebral plate in No 3. Fourth shield broken at A.

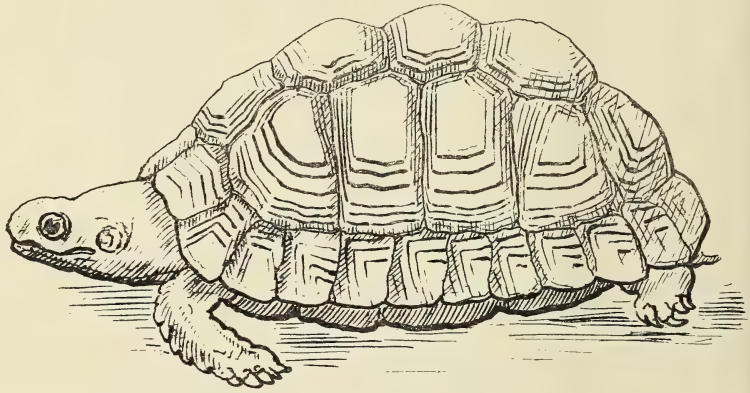


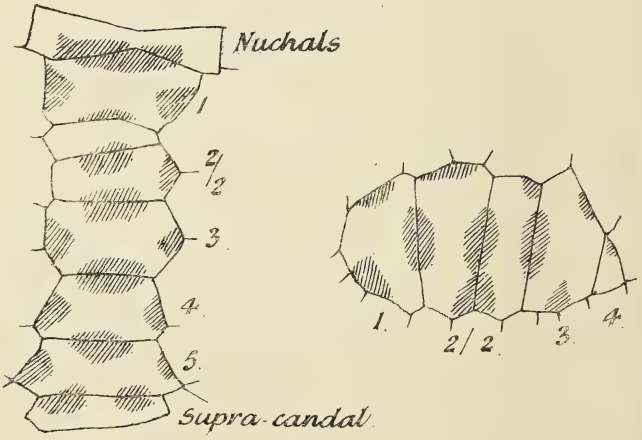
Outgrowth of 4th Costal shield behind 3rd Costal in No 3, left side.

Lith. O.S. Colombo.









Vertebral and Costal shield, left side of young.

Lith. O. S. Colombo

Testudo elgans is found from Scinde throughout India to Ceylon. In this Island it is common in all the dry districts, commencing about Puttalam, extending north to Jaffna, and running all along the east coast southwards to Hambantota. If we take specimens Nos. 1 and 2 as normal—and they agree fairly well with the excellent figures given by Dr. Boulenger in the "Fauna of British India"—a very slight examination will show that although no one would separate them as distinct species, they vary considerably. In No. 2 the lumps are not so developed, the concentric striæ are more strongly marked, and the yellow streaks are more numerous and better developed. If we place No. 6 beside No. 2, the great difference between them strikes us immediately, and if No. 5 did not form a connecting link, no one would hesitate to say that it was a distinct species. It differs from the diagnosis as given by Dr. Boulenger in the first vertebral being no longer than broad, and in the third being much narrower than the corresponding costal; the ground colour of the carapace is brownish yellow, the radiating yellow rays being only indicated by broken black markings; but a comparison with No. 2 shows much greater differences than indicated by this diagnosis. The areolar spaces are very large, whilst the concentric striæ are reduced to four or five in number and very strongly marked. In No. 5 the third vertebral shield is also much shorter than the third costal, but the first vertebral is much longer than broad, thus agreeing with the diagnosis. The areolæ are much the same as in No. 6; the concentric striæ are almost half-way between No. 2 and No. 6. The areolæ are more dotted with black than in No. 6, and although the yellow rays are not quite so much developed as in No. 2, they agree very well with No. 4, the largest of our specimens. But to leave no doubt upon the subject, if we look at the plastrons of the six specimens, we shall see that no two are exactly alike in form or colour, and that whilst No. 5 and No. 6, which are very much alike, differ a good deal from the normal pattern, as represented by No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, they do not differ more than No. 4.

In none of the species of the Chelonia, which develop epidermic plates, do the vertebral scutes exceed five in number, but in specimen No. 3 there are distinctly six; but this is evidently abnormal, the fifth being an outgrowth from the posterior margin of fourth. There is also a projection of the marginal plate, rising between the third and fourth costals on the right hand side. In specimen No. 4 there are also six vertebral scutes, and an up-growth of a marginal scute, but in this case on the left hand side, and placed between the last marginal and last vertebral scute.

There is no doubt that if the abberrations represented in No. 6, or even in No. 5 and No. 6 together, were confined to individuals from some particular locality, say Java, in which the normal form did not occur, that they would be universally acknowledged by all Zoologists to be a distinct species. Would this be correct? I think there can be no doubt that Mr. Ferguson's specimen represents the young of *T. elegans*. Taking this for granted, the species alters greatly between youth and age. In the adult the carapace is much longer than broad; in the young the length and breadth are almost equal, the margin is scarcely serrated, and the supra-caudal is a broad truncated shield. There is not a trace of a hump, the scutes forming a tessellation over the semi-globular back. The areolæ occupy almost their whole extent, and are strongly granulated, the concentric striæ being represented by a narrow smooth margin. In the plastron, the pectorals are much more developed than in the adult, and the inguinal and axillary shields are large and distinct. Let us suppose that our hypothetical species from Java had precisely the same kind of young, should we be justified in calling it anything more than an Island race?

In Dr. Boulenger's division of the genus Division 4 contains those species with a very convex carapace and black with yellow lines radiating from areolæ, or brownish with black radiating lines. No. 1 might be described according to the first system of coloration, and No. 4 comes fairly under the second. *T. platynota* of Burma differs from *T. elegans* in the

plastron not having radiating lines, which is the case in our No. 4. In fact No. 4 would be *platynota* if it were not for the tubercles on the hinder sides of the thighs. If the young of *T. elegans* and *T. platynota* agree, they could scarcely be considered as good species.

In contemplating these variations, the question of natural selection inevitably arises. The difference in coloration we cannot imagine to be of any advantage to the different individuals, crawling about as they do on the open plains in the mid-day sun, and having no need for concealment. Nor can we imagine that the greater or lesser development of the humps is any more advantageous; in fact there seems to be no point for natural selection to select from, and we are confronted with an inherent tendency to variation, which appears to me to form part of the diagnosis of many species throughout the animal kingdom. That this is the case here is clearly proved by the young. In this little tortoise we find six vertebral scutes, but in this case the number is not increased by a posterior outgrowth of the fourth, but by the division of the second into two nearly equal shields. On the right hand side there are four costal shields, but on the left the second is broken into two large, distinct, well-formed plates, making five costals on that side. I need scarcely point out how interesting a series of individuals of this species would be, illustrating the way in which the adult characters are acquired, and showing whether the abnormal characters of the young are retained or obliterated.

I cannot feel absolute certainty about the third species in our collection, as it has never been figured but once, and that work is not in our library, but the magnificent diagnosis of Dr. Boulenger rarely leaves much doubt as to what species an individual should be referred, and I have therefore entered this specimen on the list as *Testudo ibera*. There are two objections to this being a Ceylon species: first, that this is the only specimen ever procured; and secondly, that the nearest locality from which it is recorded is the

south-east of Persia. The first objection has little weight. The paddy-field deer is by no means uncommon, and yet during nearly twenty years' residence in the Island I have never seen one, nor have my interviews with headmen and promises of large rewards to native huntsmen availed to secure a specimen for the Museum. As for the geographical distribution, this species extends from the Atlantic coast of Africa, all along the south coast of the Mediterranean, through Asia Minor into Persia.

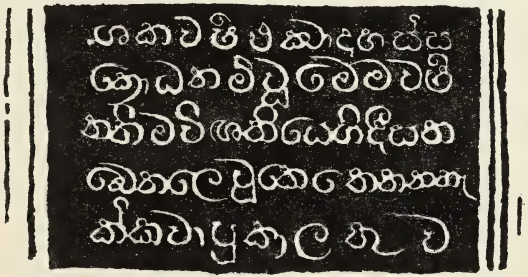
The British Museum contains a specimen of the closely allied species *T. leithii*, found in Egypt and Syria, which is labelled Scinde. This Dr. Boulenger accounts for by the hypothesis that Dr. Leith purchased a specimen imported into that country. This may be the case with this individual. It is useless, however, to discuss the question, until we obtain more information; suffice it to state that it was purchased of a man who said he picked it up on the sea-shore at Vellawatta, and that he had seen the species before.

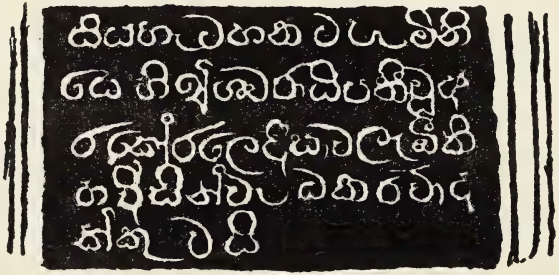
3. Mr. HARWARD read the following:—



INSCRIPTION ON A CANNON.

A.D. 1745.





Scale - Actual Size.

Lith: S.G.O. Colombo. No 693.

NOTE ON A SINHALESE INSCRIPTION OF 1745-46 A.D.*

By Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe.

Text.

(1) ශක වර්ෂ එකාදහස් සසියහැවහතට පැමිනි†
(2) ක්‍රොධ‡ නම්වූ මෙම වර්ෂයෙහි ඊශ්වරාධිපතිවූ අ
(3) න්තිම විංශතියෙහිදී සතරකෝරලෙ දිසාව§ ලැබිති
(4) බෙන ලෙවුකෙ‖ තෙනන්නෑහ¶ විසින් **වැඩකරවා ද
(5) ක්කවාපු†† කාලතුවක්කුවයි‡‡

Transcript.

(1) *Ṣaka varsha ekvá dahas sa siya heṭa hataṭa peminí*†
(2) *Krodha*‡ *nam vú mema varshayehi Iṣvarádhipativú a*
(3) *ntima viṇsatiyehidí Satara Kóralé Disáva*§ *leḅí ti*
(4) *bena Lewuke*‖ *tenanneha*¶ *visin*** *veḍa karavá da*
(5) *kkavápu*†† *kála tuwakkuwayí.*‡‡

Translation.

This is the cannon which Lewuke, the minister holding [the office of] Disáwa over the Four Kóralés, has had made and presented [to the Dutch] in the year named Krodha, the 1667th of the Ṣaka era [which is] in the last *viṇsati* (period of twenty years) of the cycle under the regency of Íṣvara (Jupiter Cyclus).

* Engraved on an old cannon lying in the Royal Museum in Amsterdam, deciphered from a pencil rubbing furnished by Dr. Kern, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology of the University of Leyden (Leiden).

† The date on the inscription—Ṣaka 1667—covers portions of the two years 1745 and 1746 of the Christian era. In the absence of a more definite date, it is not possible to say if the presentation of the Siṇhalese cannon to the Dutch took place in 1745 or 1746. The word *peṃini*, "arrived" or "approached," seems, however, to point to the commencement of the Ṣaka year, which may, therefore, fall in the latter half of 1745.

‡ *Krodha*, in Indian astronomy the 59th year of the 60 years cycle of Íṣvara or Jupiter.

§ *Disáva* stands for *disáka*, meaning "quarter" or "direction," here technically used as the title of a chief of a district.

‖ The fact that Lewuke was the Disáwa of the Four Kóralés in 1745 is, so far as I know, not stated in any of the records hitherto published. We have here the earliest authentic reference to him in name and title, by which we are able now to identify this Lewuke with the Disáwa of Four Kóralés who played an important part in the negotiations of the Dutch with the Siṉhalese in the last century.

Lewuke was a staunch Buddhist, and as such he did much to patronize his religion. He restored viháras, and endowed them with lands for the maintenance of the priesthood. A representation of him "wearing the peculiar red conical hat of the day" may be found painted on the right wall inside the Dambullakanda viháré—a rock-cut temple in Walgam Pattuwa of Kinigoḍa Kóralé.—(See "Report on the Ḳégalla District," Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 39.)

¶ *Tenanṇeha* (lit. "the lord of a place") means an "officer" or "minister." It is a compound of *tenan* and *ṿehe*, the semivocal *v* being here assimilated to the preceding *n*. The origin of this *n* is not clear. It may, as Professor Kuhn suggests, be a relic of the sign of the genitive plural. We know, however, that it is always added to the stem of Siṉhalese nouns signifying animate objects in the formation of oblique cases in the plural, as *gurunṭa satun*, *visákávange*, *velandungen*, &c. *Tena* or *ṭena* (Sans. *sthána*) is used here in the sense of "one in possession of a place or situation." *Ṿehe* is Sans. *Bhavat* (nom. *haván*), used as a term of respect in speaking of a person. The third person singular present indicative of *bhú* is in Mâhârâshtri and Hindi Prakrit, *havai*, from which a participle *havat* (nom. *háván* for *bháván*) can be formed. It may well be that the Siṉhalese *vaha* or *väha* comes from this Prakrit form *havat* of Sans. *bhavat*: *havat* becoming by metathesis *vahat*, then *vähay* or *vahay*, and finally *ṿeha* or *vaha*. In *vahanse* we have again the insertion of the *n* before the suffix *se*.

** *Visin* in Siṉhalese, considered an instrumental affix, is in reality an altered form of Sanskrit or Páli *vasena*, the instrumental of *vasam* used adverbially (Childer's *Páli Dict.*) and in composition with the preceding word.

†† *Dakkavápu* stands for the past participle of causative *dakkavanawá*.

‡‡ *Tuwakkuva*, a word of Persian origin meaning "firearm," which appears under various forms in many languages of Europe and Asia.

4. The following Paper was read by the writer :—

KOSTANTINU HATANA.

By F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár, Galle.

Kostantinu Haṭana is the title of a little poem in Siṇhalese composed by a native Christian (whose name I am unable to find out) about the early part of the seventeenth century, probably. It consists of nearly 187 verses in various metres, and is very interesting reading, treating, as it does, of the successful march of Constantino de Sá, the great Portuguese Captain-General, against the forces of Máyadunna under the rebel chiefs *Anthony Baretto* and *Kángara*. It is an elegant composition, and reflects great credit on the author. He appears to have studied the standard Eḷu works very carefully, and to have read a great deal of Hindú Mythology (to judge by the allusions)—an acquaintance with which is so essential to a Siṇhalese poet. I find, moreover, that he has made a special study of Alagiyawanna's works, such as the *Kusa Játaka*, *Subhásita*, and *Seṿul Sandésaya*, and is indebted to him for several beautiful ideas. A perusal of the work affords evidence of the fact that his sympathies were on the side of the Portuguese; but it is nevertheless characterized by fairness and moderation of tone. I incline to think that the writer was an eye-witness of the stirring events narrated by him, as the account given of the progress of the campaign is so graphic and vivid.

Although the subject of the poem does not lend itself to a description of all the features of a *mahá kávya*, he has introduced, in their proper places, forest scenes, aquatic sports, &c., to enhance the interest of his narrative. The *alaṇkára* introduced into the poem is both chaste and beautiful.

I have the honour to lay before this Society the results of my study of this poetical work, in the hope that they will be

of interest to members in connection with the recent publication of the younger De Sá's account of the Rebellion in Ceylon. The account, as far as it goes, is in perfect agreement with De Sá's narrative in the main. It must be borne in mind that this work deals solely with De Sá's march against the forces of Máyadunna, and the causes which led up to it. But the great rebellion in which De Sá suffered defeat at the hands of Rája Siṅha II. forms the subject of *Mahá Haṭana*, another Siṅhalese poem by Kirimeṭiyáwe Dási meṭi. I hope to consider this book in a subsequent Paper. I may state, *en passant*, that Kirimeṭiyáwa's work is inferior in literary merit to the native Christian poet's composition. So much for the general features of the work. Let me now proceed to give a brief summary of the contents.

The two rebel chiefs, *Baretto* and *Kángara*, find favour by means of deceit and treachery at the Kandyan Court, and are granted Úva and Tunkinda (verse 15). From Badulla—where the preparations are made—an expedition is organized to gain Vellassa, Batticaloa, and Vellawáya; and they proceed to attack the fortress of Sabaragamuwa, spreading disaffection among the inhabitants of Denawaka Pasraṭa, Mátara, Kukulu Kóralé, and Pasyódun Kóralé (verses 17, 18), in opposition to the Kandyan king, to whom they now owe allegiance. Thereafter they proceed against the king himself,—an act of perfidy which is very happily illustrated by our poet :—

වරලැබ ඉසුරු ගෙ න
යලිදු ඔහු වනසන මෙ න
ලුහුබැඳ යිය නදී න
බස්ම නන් අසුරිදුන් විලසි න

Like the Asur Basma who, obtaining a boon from Íṣwara, turned against that deity himself and gave chase to kill him.

He and his sons escape : they are taken and confined in some remote place in the Wanni, the palace robbed, and the guards put to death. With the Wanniyans they now begin

to fight the Portuguese; and being unsuccessful invite over from the Chóḷa country the Prince Máyadunna (who had been in hiding there), promising to support his pretensions; and recommence their hostilities against the Portuguese. The country being now in a disturbed condition—dissensions in every part of it—the authorities and the priests in Colombo meet for consultation, and decide upon appealing for help to the Viceroy at Goa. This personage, on receiving intimation of the unsatisfactory state of Ceylon affairs, sends Constantino de Sá, as being the best man he could find, to set matters right. De Sá lands in Colombo with a band of trusty followers, and hastens to Malwána, the Portuguese sanatarium. From this place he goes on to Meṇikkaḍawara (in Beligal Kóralé) on business connected with the expedition he is about to undertake, and returns to Malwána; whence, after satisfying himself of the allegiance of his men, he sets forth, attended by captains and other officers, in great pomp and state on his march of conquest. The route taken by the General is through the following places :—

Mápiṭigama	Teppanáwa
Degamboḍa	Nivitigalla
Kananwela Ferry	Maḍawela
Kosgama	Kónpiṭiya
Bópé	Pollemuré
Puwakpiṭiya	Balaṇgoḍa
Sítáwaka	Meḍdégam Nuwara

A lively description of each of the villages on the way is given. He destroys some of the villages by fire, including Meḍdégam Nuwara, which he burns to the ground, with all its palaces, houses, &c. At Lellópiṭiya the encounter with the enemy takes place with disastrous results to the forces of Máyadunna and the rebel chiefs. The king escaping, the chiefs are taken captive—32 in all, chained two by two—and are brought to Malwána; into which De Sá makes a triumphant entry from his successful expedition against the Siṇhalese forces.

To the above *résumé* of the work I should wish to add a few observations suggested by some passages in the book, letting the poet speak for himself where desirable.

That our author was a native Christian is abundantly clear from the opening verses :—

සව්ලෙව්සත් මුදු* න්
සසසිරිපා කමල දු න්
මෙන්ගුණ පිරි නදු න්
වදිමි යේසුස් ක්‍රිස්තු සුරිඳු න්

I adore Jesus Christ, the chief of all mankind, who is full of loving-kindness.

රිවිකැන් පහනකි න
නිකුන් නලසිලු විලසි න
කනනිමරියා කුසි න
පහල සුරිදුන් වදිමි බැතියෙ න

I adore the deity born of the womb of the Virgin Mary, like unto a flame emitted by a lamp of solar rays.

We read that De Sá was highly connected, being a descendant of the family of the Master of the Robes to the Portuguese kings,† and that he was a distinguished General, who had served in other parts of the world with conspicuous ability. The vessel which brought De Sá appears to have been a war-ship which had taken part in previous similar expeditions, and the course of which on the high seas was guided by the stars.

The navigation, it is said, was done according to the *málimi sástraya* (laws of navigation ?). The vessel itself is quaintly described :—

නෙක රුපුසපුන් ග න්
රුවල් පියපතරින් යු න්
නැව් ගුරුළිදු මහ න්
කොලොම්පුර නොට ගොඩට වියප න්

* බඹ සුර නර මුදු න්
සියසිරිපා කමල දු න්.—*Kusa Játaka*

† සළුඅබරණවඩ න
මහත් ගරුතර කුලෙන් පැවතෙ න

The great *garuḍa*-like ship,* its vanquished enemies the snakes, its sails the wings of this fabulous bird, arrived at the port of *Koḷom-pura* (Colombo).

The march of the enemy to the field is a very imposing scene: we read that the General was carried in a State litter gaily decked. I cannot resist the temptation to quote this stanza for its beautiful versification :—

පැහැදුල් නවමිණි බඳ රන්කම් ක ළ
මනකල් දැලකඩ මෙහෙයෙන් සුලක ළ
මුතුලැල් සමගින් සෙමෙර පවන්ලෙ ෙ
නිසි පල්ලක්කිය සැගෙමින් සිරිදු ෙ

Entering a beautiful palanquin set with gold and gems, inlaid with ivory and decked with festoons of pendant pearls put in motion by waving *châmaras*.

The Captains rode in palanquins amid the noise of drums and trumpets. The poet says that the whole army moving in this manner presented the spectacle of the mighty ocean rolling on land—a favourite comparison with Oriental poets for a tumultuous army on the march. The villages passed on the way are graphically described, with details as to the halting stations. At Sitáwaka the poet introduces us to a bevy of maidens disporting themselves in the river, and I leave him to describe these water-nymphs in his own inimitable style :—

අඳිමින් රත්වන් දියවින් ගෙණත ට
බඳිමින් මලවුල් මුහුලස නදකොා ට
සලෙලුන් සහ මිදිරස බී විහර ට
සොඛමන් ලදලියො කෙළියෝ මෙලස ට

Dressing themselves in red cloths, taking in their hands drinking horns, tying up their hair bound with flowers into a firm knot, drinking wine moderately with the wantons, in this manner the pretty maidens disported themselves in the water.

* *Garuḍa*, the bird and vehicle of *Vishṇu*. He is generally represented as being something between a man and a bird, and considered as sovereign of the feathered kind : he was the son of *Kásyapa* and *Vinátá* and younger brother of *Aruna*.—*Clough*.

රූසිරෙන් පසකළ සුරවරඹා යා
සනොසින් අඟනෝ සිලිල දෙඹා යා
ඇළිනෙන් පෙන්වා නම සසොඹා යා
දුටුවන් මනනෙන් කරකලඹා යා

Maidens, who in beauty excelled the heavenly nymphs, plunging into the water, captivate the eyes and minds of onlookers by the display of their charms.

The beauty of the original is almost lost in translation.

The destruction by fire of Meḍḍégam Nuwara appears to have been complete—the whole town, consisting of the *Chitrakúṭa vimána*, *Magul maḍuwa* (Audience Hall), the royal kitchen, the dining hall, the hot-water bath, the queen's apartments, and the stately mansion of *Baretto*, being burnt to the ground. Here is a battle-piece :—

සමහරෙක් සතුරන්ට ඇන ලන්සයට ගෙණ අහකට දම න්
සමහරෙක් එක වෙඩිල්ලෙන් දෙතුන්දෙන ඇනලා හෙල න්
සමහරෙක් නම දෙපා ඇදිඅය පින්පිණිස නොකොටා හරි න්
සමහරෙක් පිටපෑ රුපුන් නොමරම අල්ලා බැඳගෙණ න්

Some spearing the enemies put the bodies away from them, while others by one shot kill two or three at a time. Some spare those who beg for mercy, while others seize and bind those who are about to flee, without killing them.

I notice that the *kastána* in the days of our poet was not the innocent-looking ornament which we now find dangling by the side of a Mudaliyár on official occasions, but a formidable weapon used with deadly effect on the plains of Lellópiṭiya.

We read in the published narrative that the General "had a gallant bearing added to a shapely, well-proportioned form and figure, tall and strong, with an expression at once pleasing and manly." This is confirmed by what our chronicler says with regard to the hero's personal attractions. In this verse his person is described :—

නොදහන් පෙරමදරපු මෙන් බබල න
රූසිරෙන් දිසි අපහරන්දු සසොබ න
බලමින් ඇසිපිය නොහෙලා සිටියෙ න
සුරඹුන් සිරිසිලු පිටිසර කුලඟ න

The village maidens of birth, on account of their steadfast gaze at our Governor without winking, *who in beauty is the Ananga of old before he was reduced to ashes*, resembled the heavenly nymphs.

I think that this description could not be improved upon, and that the younger Sá must confess himself beaten by our poet in this particular. The concluding verse runs thus :—

රජු දිගාවේ වා
රූපුනට නිගා වේ වා
සිරි ලඟාවේ වා
සිරින් මුලුලොව වගාවේ වා

May the sovereign be long-lived !
May the enemy be vanquished !
May prosperous times be nigh !
May the whole world advance in prosperity !

Patriotic sentiments which, I suppose, we can all heartily re-echo with pleasure.

This work, of which I have attempted to give a brief sketch to-night, is very rare. I cannot undertake to say that my copy is complete, though the narrative goes on without a break, as I could not get another copy for the purpose of collation. My object in bringing the book to the notice of this learned Society is, partly to supplement with fuller details the meagre account given in the published narrative about Máyadunna, and partly to interest Members in the study of a work, unique in its kind, which is the only "war poem,"—if I may be allowed the term,—the *Mahá Haṭana* excepted, which we have in Siṅhalese, so far as I have been able to ascertain.*

5. A vote of thanks was accorded to the writers of the Papers read, on a motion proposed by Mr. HARWARD.

6. A vote of thanks to the chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.

* The writer has evidently not seen *Paraṅgi Haṭana*.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

COMMITTEE MEETING.

Colombo Museum Library, August 9, 1894.

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Justice Lawrie. | Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 7, 1894.

2. Laid on the table a Paper from Mr. Raṇasiṉha on "Gaja Báhu I.": referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell and Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted and read, and that it be previously printed and circulated.

3. Laid on the table a Paper by Mr. F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár, entitled "Notes on the Sports and Games of the Siṉhalese."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. Justice Lawrie.

4. Read a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., dated July 31, 1894, offering a Paper on "The Archæology of the Waṉṉi," intended to be published in his "Manual of the Waṉṉi District."

Resolved,—That the offer be accepted, and that the Paper be referred to Mr. Harward for report, and that the question of publishing it in the Society's Journal do stand over.

Resolved,—That a Meeting of the Society be held on September 8 next, or on such date as the Secretaries may think fit, and that it be left to their discretion to fix the Papers for reading.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 8, 1894.

Present :

Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam, C.C.S.
Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.
Hon. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : One lady and eight gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 7, 1894.

2. The Chairman informed the Meeting that His Lordship the Bishop of Colombo, President, was prevented from attending owing to ill-health.

3. The following Paper was read by the author :—

WHICH GAJA BAHU VISITED INDIA?

By W. P. RAṆASIṆHA.

IN the interesting Paper on *Chilappatikáram*, read by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy on October 28, 1893, before this Society, he inferred that the Gaja Báhu mentioned in that poem was King Gaja Báhu I., who reigned in Ceylon about 113 A.D. In the discussion that followed, our President (the Bishop of Colombo) was rather inclined to question the soundness of the conclusion. Since then I have turned over a few pages of Siṇhalese literature and archæology, and I am glad to find that the following references taken therefrom corroborate the testimony furnished by Tamil literature, that Gaja Báhu I. did indeed visit the Chóḷa country in South India, and did in fact introduce into Ceylon the worship of Pattiṇi.

The *Maháwaṇsa* speaks of Gaja Báhu I. as the son of Vaṇkanásika Tissa, but makes no mention of his having gone to India. He began his reign in 113 A.D.: Gaja Báhu II. began his reign in 1143 A.D.

In the *Rája Ratnákaraya*, a history of Ceylon of some authority, written in 1542 A.D. by Walagampaya Terunnánsé, it is recorded :—

"The brother of Mahaludé was Vaknetis (Vaṇkanásika Tissa). His son was Gaja Báhu. Having heard that in those days the inhabitants of Laṇká were in servitude at Káveri he was vexed, and taking the iron club made by his father, which was wont to be carried by fifty warriors, he struck the sea with it, and by the power of his merits caused the sea to be divided, went over the Chóḷa kingdom without so much as wetting his feet, and having exhibited his prowess brought back the prisoners of war and the tooth-relic and the alms-bowl which the Tamils had taken away, and went to heaven after performing many meritorious acts, both secular and religious."

The whole of this passage, except as regards the statement that the tooth-relic was brought back to Laṇká by Gaja Báhu

I. (which, according to the President, was not in Ceylon till the fourth century A.D.), is supported by an earlier work, the *Pújávaliya*, which was composed by a monk called Buddhaputra, Chief of Mayurapáda Pirivena, about the year 1288 A.D. or, according to B. Gunasékara Mudaliyár, 1309 A.D.

The passage I refer to is as follows :—

"His (Vẹhẹp's) son Vaknẹhẹtissa (Vaṇkanásika Tissa) reigned three years. His son King Gaja Báhu having heard that during his father's reign men were sent to Káveri for service, sent for his ministers, and having inquired about it became indignant, and having taken the iron mace which his father caused to be made for him, accompanied his warriors, and having taken the mace, which was wont to be lifted up by fifty men, in his right hand and circumambulated, struck the sea with it, and by his merits divided the sea and went over to the Chóḷa country without wetting his feet; and having exhibited his prowess, and having captured twice as many as those who went to serve at Káveri, and enjoined that thenceforth none should go to work at Káveri, came back, and having kept guards round the shore, and having published his victory by beat of tom-tom, and having done many meritorious acts, reigned twenty-two years and went to heaven."

Two other works of independent authority refer to the same incidents in a fuller form, explaining the cause of the invasion of Gaja Báhu I. The works I allude to are the *Mahá Rájáwaliya* and *Wanni Rájáwaliya*.

The following passage I take over from *Mahá Rájáwaliya* and translate thus :—

His son Vanneṣi (Vaṇkanásika) reigned three years. During his reign the King of Chóḷa having come to this Laṇká with Tamils from the Chóḷa country, took away to the Chóḷa country 12,000 prisoners of war. During the reign of Gajabá, son of King Senanambapa, whilst he was going about the city in the night he heard an old widow's lamentations because her two sons were carried away by the Chóḷa king, and thinking that there must be some injustice in the city he marked the door with lime and went to his palace. In the morning the king sent for his ministers and inquired of them about the rights and wrongs in the city. Then the ministers said, "It is like a wedding house of Indra." Then the king's wrath was kindled against the ministers, and he sent for the woman of the house whose door had been marked with lime; and she said, "When the Chóḷa king carried

away 12,000 prisoners my two sons were taken away too, and therefore I was crying." Then the king, having comforted the poor woman, was displeased with the doings of his father; and having said, "I shall go to the Chóḷa country," went to Jaffna with an army, and having given leave to the army he went with the warrior Níla and struck the sea with his mace and divided the waters and went to the Chóḷa city, and having intimidated the Chóḷa king sat on the throne like Indra, king of gods. Níla getting hold of the elephants of the city struck one against the other and killed both. When thus the Chóḷa city was being devastated the ministers informed the Chóḷian king of it. Then the Chóḷian king asked King Gajabá, "Are the Siṉhalese people come to destroy this city?" Then King Gajabá said, "Except the small boy who accompanied me hither, there is no army with me," and sent for the warrior Níla and kept him by his side. Then the Chóḷian king asked him, "Why did your Majesty come alone?" Then King Gajabá answered, "Your Majesty's father during my father's reign brought 12,000 prisoners—I am come to take them away." Then the Chóḷian king replied, "One of our ancestors fought the gods and conquered them: shall I give your people back?" Then King Gaja Báhu said, "I shall destroy this city and reduce it to ashes; will you give me for my people 24,000 men or not?" and having pressed sand produced water, and having squeezed the iron mace also produced water, and having thus enlightened the Chóḷian king obtained 24,000 as prisoners with interest, and also the *gem anklet of the goddess Pattiṉi*, and the arms of the four gods of the four temples, and the alms-bowl which was carried away during the reign of King Walagambá; and having warned him not to do such a thing in future, came to Laṉká with the prisoners, sent them to their own lands, and the rest he placed in Aḷutkúru Kóralé, and having reigned twenty-four years he went to heaven.

It will be observed that no mention is here made of the restoration of the tooth-relic as recorded in the *Rajaratnákaraya*. I think the reference in the *Rajaratnákaraya* is an interpolation by some ignorant copyist. But it is interesting to note that the fact that some Chóḷians were brought over and placed in Aḷutkúru Kóralé during this king's reign is supported by an old tradition to the same effect still current amongst the Siṉhalese.*

* *Cf.* the name of the village *Teliṉgipáta* in the Rágam pattuwa of Aḷutkúru Kóralé.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

The carrying away of the alms-bowl by the Tamils during the reign of Waṭṭagáminí Abhaya is related in chapter XXIII. of the *Mahâwaṇsa.*

I would now refer to a poem called *Gajabá Katháwa,* in Siṉhalese. Neither the date of the work nor the name of the author is given in the book, but all that appears in the *Rájawaliya* is related in it. Gajabá's father's name appears in this work as *Bapa Rája.* I thought that *Bapa* meant father, and not one of the names of the King Vaṉkanásika Tissa. In the *Wanni Rájawaliya* he is called *Vaṉṇesinambá Rája.* In this book the following occurs: "*E Sinambá Rajuge put Gaja Báhu,*" "that Sinamba's son Gaja Báhu." In the *Rájawaliya* which is in the Museum Library the words "*ohu put Pinvaṇeḍi nam raja*" occur, which I read "*ohu pit Vaṇesinam raja,*" "his son Vaṇṇesinam Rája." A few lines below this the following words occur: "*Gajabá Sinanambaba rajuge put,*" "Gajabá, son of King Sinanambaba," which I take to be a clerical error for "*Vaṇṇesinambapa.*" Whether *Bapa,* which occurs in the *Gajabá Katháva* and in the *Rájawaliya,* means "father," or was another name for Vaṉkanásika Tissa, it is difficult to say.

Mr. Bell mentions Tiyambaráhéna as a déwálé sacred to Pattini Deviyó, and one of the oldest in the Kęgalla District. The *sannasa* carries its founding back to Gaja Báhu I., the rescuer of the Siṉhalese captives in India. The date given in this *sannasa* is, as Mr. Bell says, palpably wrong, but, as he adds, probably crystallizes some old tradition that Gaja Báhu caused to be built at Kęlani Nawagomuwa a déwálé for the gem anklet of Pattiṇi, and afterwards had it removed to Tiyambaráhéna.*

* "When 1,088 years had expired from the death of our Lord Buddha, in the 852nd year after the establishing of the Buddhist religion in Laṉká, the King Gaja Báhu, having heard that his subjects of the Island of Laṉká were carried away as slaves to Kâveri," &c.—*Archæological Survey of Ceylon: Report on the Kęgalla District,* page 56.

Discounting the poetic description as regards the division of water by striking the sea with the iron mace, the exploits of Níla in the city of Chóḷa, and the production of water from sand and the iron mace, there is, I think, no reason to doubt that the king who went to the Chóḷa country was Gaja Báhu I., *and that it was he who established the worship of Pattiṇi in Ceylon.*

We ought to be thankful to Mr. P. Coomáraswámy for having brought to the notice of this Society the Tamil poem *Chilappatikáram*, which is of great interest from various points of view, not the least of which is its remarkable confirmation of Siṇhalese history; for, from an entirely foreign source, the accuracy of many of our historical works besides the *Maháwaṇsa* has been established, as to the time when one of its ancient kings reigned in Ceylon, and as to how he introduced the worship of one of the most popular goddesses into the Island.

4. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM inquired of Mr. Raṇasiṇha if any explanation was possible of the omission of the *Maháwaṇsa* to record so important an event as the visit of Gaja Báhu to India, and the introduction by him into Ceylon of the worship of the goddess *Pattiṇi*.

Mr. RAṆASIṆHA said that the Siṇhalese chronicle did not purport to be a complete history of each and every Siṇhalese king's reign, but a good deal of selection was exercised by the chronicler. The *Mahá-waṇsa* was a history not so much of Ceylon as of Buddhism in Ceylon, and perhaps the monkish chronicler preferred to omit all reference to the introduction of a worship that the orthodox Buddhists would not approve of.

Mr. P. COOMÁRASWÁMY: "The question is, which Gaja Báhu visited India at the time of the Chera King, Senkuṭṭuvan? In my Paper read in October last I expressed the view that it was Gaja Báhu I. I am now glad to find that view confirmed by the Siṇhalese authorities cited by Mr. Raṇasiṇha. While collecting materials for a Paper on the age of certain Tamil poets, I have come across many facts which leave no doubt whatever as to the correctness of this conclusion. I shall to-night state only one argument.

"Those who have some acquaintance with Tamil literature are aware that the term *Vaḷḷal* is specially applied to twenty-one persons for their unbounded munificence. They were divided into three classes of seven each, and the third class included two Tamil princes, *Pékan* and *Pari*, who were contemporaries. *Pékan* had a quarrel with his wife *Kaṇṇakai*—whose name was the same as the heroine of *Chilap-patikáram*—and turned her out of doors. Many friends interfered, and amongst them *Kapilar* and *Paraṇar*, both of whom addressed

several poems to the prince on the subject, and brought about a reconciliation. *Kapilar's* friend and one of his patrons was Prince *Pári*, and on *Pári's* death the aged poet's untiring endeavours to wed *Pári's* portionless daughter—for *Pári* died poor—to some one of the great princes of Southern India, and his visits to court after court with that object, form an interesting chapter in Tamil literature.

"*Paraṇar's* chief patron was the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan, who, according to the *Chilappatikáram*, was visited by Gaja Báhu. *Paraṇar* addressed to *Senkuṭṭuvan* several poems, including the fifth *Pattu* of the *Padiṭṭuppatṭu*, and received from him several important gifts, including *Umbaṭkáṭṭuvári*.

"These are all matters to be gathered from our ancient Tamil poems,* and the poems addressed by *Kapilar* and *Paraṇar* on the occasion above mentioned are also extant.

"For the purposes of the present investigation we have to remember that the two *Vaḷḷal's*, *Pékan* and *Pári*, and the two poets, *Kapilar* and *Paraṇar*, were contemporaries, and that the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan was *Paraṇar's* patron. Now *Pári* is mentioned in one of the hymns of *Sundara Múrtti* thus :† "Even if you flatter cowards by styling them *Bhimas* and *Arguanas*, and misers *Páris*, who will reward you now-a-days, O ye poets?" *Sundara Múrtti*, as you are aware, is one of the three authors of the sacred hymns of the Tamils known as *Deváram*. Where is the earliest *authentic* reference to him? The researches of Dr. Hultszch enable us to answer this. Plate No. 38 given in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II., part II., page 152 *et seq.*, which is a copy of one of the inscriptions at the temple at Tanjore, gives the weight of the images worshipped at that temple and, amongst them, of the images of *Súndara Múrtti* and *Paravaiyár* his wife. The inscription is dated the twenty-ninth year of the reign of *Rája-Rája-déva*, which has been ascertained to be 1033 of the Christian era (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I., page 169). I do not ask you to say how many centuries must have elapsed after *Sundara Múrtti's* death before he and his wife came to be worshipped in a temple of Siva; but this fact remains that *Pári* must have been long prior to 1033, which date is at least 100 years before Gaja Báhu II. began his reign in Ceylon. As there are only two Gaja Báhus between the first and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and as *Pári*, *Kapilar*, *Paraṇar*, and Senkuṭṭuvan were contemporaries, the prince who visited Senkuṭṭuvan was undoubtedly Gaja Báhu I.; and as this visit must have occurred *during this reign*, that is, between 113-125 after Christ, we are able to fix the dates of the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan, and the two poets *Kapilar* and *Paraṇar*, as prior to the second half of the second century."

Mr. J. HARWARD said that, in view of the record made so persistently in the several Siṇhalese works cited by Mr. Raṇasiṇha, the tradition that Gaja Báhu I. visited India appeared to him worthy of acceptance as a *bonâ fide* tradition, and as that was constantly associated with the introduction into Ceylon of the worship of the goddess *Patiṭṇi* we need not hesitate to believe that Gaja Báhu I. introduced that worship.

* Consult, among others, *Chirupáṇaṭṭuppaḍai*, *Patiṭṭuppattu*, *Puraṇánúr*, &c.

† *Sunkaramurttikéváram* in *Tiruppukalur Midukkalátáṇai*.

But it did not necessarily follow that *Chilappatikáram* was written in the time of Gaja Báhu I. He could conceive of a learned society discussing in 3000 A.D. the age of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, and arguing that Tennyson was a contemporary of King Arthur. If earlier specimens of English literature did not exist for purposes of comparison, Tennyson's work might be ante-dated by a thousand years. It would be well, therefore, to prove the age of *Chilappatikáram* by the internal evidence of the style, language, &c., and he hoped that this aspect of the question would receive the attention of Tamil scholars.

Mr. COOMÁRASWÁMY said that the author of the *Chilappatikáram* was the brother of King Senkuṭṭuvan, whom Gaja Báhu I. visited, whereas Tennyson could not be cited as King Arthur's brother.

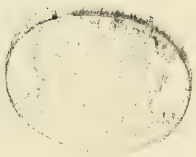
Mr. HARWARD said that it was not unusual in some countries and some ages for poets to write under the name of persons who had flourished at an earlier date.

Mr. P. RÁMANÁTHAN said that the internal evidence of the style and language of *Chilappatikáram* proved its age, and he trusted that Mr. Coomáraswámy would collect all such evidence and make it part of his next Paper.

The CHAIRMAN stated that it was interesting to find that the traditions of both sides of the Gulf of Maṇṇár concurred in alleging that it was Gaja Báhu I. who visited India and introduced the worship of *Pattiṇi* into Ceylon, and the point might be considered as established. In addition to the authorities quoted he referred to that of Valentyn, who seemed to have drawn some of the materials for his ancient history from Siṇhalese works not now extant in Ceylon. Valentyn (vol. V., p. 67) stated that *Wankamasika Rája* (who reigned three years) was succeeded by his son *Beeja Rája*, who reigned twelve years, during which an expedition arrived from India, which took 12,000 captives. Valentyn's narrative went on to relate the reign of *Gaja Báhu I.*, describing his visit to India, and giving many details of his reputed exploits. He would take this opportunity to point out that the title of Mr. Raṇasiṇha's Paper, "Which Gaja Báhu visited India?" suggested that only one Gaja Báhu visited India. We had no materials before us to determine the question whether or not Gaja Báhu II. also visited India. He felt sure the Society was very grateful to Mr. Ráṇasiṇha for his interesting Paper.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Raṇasiṇha for his Paper was accorded on a motion proposed by the Chairman.

5. Mr. HARWARD read the following Paper :—



MANNAR DISTRICT.
KARAICHCHI
Tojaffna
Aru
PUTUKKUDIYIRUPPU
Mattalan
Putukkudiyiruppu.
TUNUKKAY
Chelliyavillu
PALPATTU
Mannakandal
Mullaittivu
KARUNAKARAYAN
Khanakarayan
MULLIYA
Kachchilamadu.
Manmalai.
MELPATTU
Olumadu.
Oddichuddan
KARIKKADDU-
MULAI NORTH
Taddeyamalai.
VALAI
Pabiyaru
Vavaddaimalai.
Themmalai
NORTH
Kuruntamalai
Tannirmuruppu
Vavuni kulam
Pandarakulam.
Panankamam
Kanakarayankulam
Oliyamalai
Periyakulam
MELPATTU
Nochchimoddai
PANANKAMAM
Aru
Chinnapuvarasankulam
UDAIYAUR
Ariyamadu.
Kanchiramoddai
MULAI
Koddaikeni
Muuruuruppiu.
MELPATTU
KARIKKADDUMULAI
Chivantamuruppu
SOUTH
Kumpakonanmalai
Kokkilay.
Palampuldi
SOUTH
EAST
METKUMULAI
Malikai
Chemamadu
NORTH
EASTERN
PROVINCE
KILAKKUMULAI
Omantai
Ruwanmadu
Mairaluppai
Periyapuliyankulam
Pampaimadu
Erupolane
Buddhunhela
Puvarasankulam
Manadi
Mahakachchatkodi
Tirupanmaduwa
From Mannar
NADUCHCHEDDIKKULAM
Vavuniya
Mudukanda
Irasentirenkulam
Alaikaddu Anicut
Iralperiyakulam
Padawiya
Aruvi aru
CHINNACHCHEDDIKKULAM
KILAKKUMULAI
SOUTH
Pavatkulam
To Trincomalie
PROVINCE
Venkalacheddikulam
Kappachchi
Nochchikulam
Marutamadu
From Anuradhapura
NORTH-CENTRAL
Scale of 8 Miles to an Inch

ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE WANNI.

By Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S.

"The Wanny"* was the name given to that part of northern Ceylon which is bounded on the north by the Jaffna lake, on the south by the Aruvi river and the District of Nuwarakaláwiya, which now forms a part of the North-Central Province, on the east by the District of Trincomalee, and on the west by the District of Maṇṇár.

Roughly speaking, the District of Vavuṇiya forms the southern half of the Waṇṇi, and that of Mullaittívu the northern half. The area of the Dutch Waṇṇi was computed to be about 2,000 square miles, while that of the two districts above named is 1,864 square miles.

The name *Waṇṇi* in the Siṇhalese chronicles appears to have had a more extensive application than that given it by the Dutch, for it included Nuwarakaláwiya, which was the *Mahá Waṇṇi*.

Baldæus applies the name, "the country of the Wannias," to the Maṇṇár mainland as far north as the Jaffna lake.†

It is however with the first signification given above that the name is used in this Paper.

* It is not certain what the meaning of the name is. Several derivations have been suggested. Tennent mentions two, "one significant of the forest (*waṇam*) which covers it to a great extent; the other of the intense heat which characterizes the region" (vol. II., p. 508, 4th edition); while according to Cordiner the name means "scarcity" (p. 295). One of the meanings of the word *Waṇṇi* is fire, but the last two derivations are far-fetched, and so is that from *val*, denoting the hardness of the soil. According to the *Kalpeḍḍu*, the district took its name from the Wanniyas from India, who colonized it. In accordance with this view another derivation has been suggested from the Indian *Bunniyah*, or merchant, but the Tamil form of this is *Wáṇikaṇ*, which could not become *Waṇṇi*. There is a Waṇṇi Hatpattu in the North-Western Province.

I am inclined to favour the derivation from the name of the Tamil chiefs.

† Churchill's "Voyages," vol. III., pp. 709, 719.

The principal archæological remains are to be seen in the ancient Siṉhalese tanks, most of which have been described in detail in Mr. H. Parker's reports.* These remains consist of massive embankments, such as that at Taṉṉírmuṛippu, where the bund is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles long; at Pávaṭkuḷam, where it is 2 miles long; Mámaḍu $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile, Iratperiyakuḷam and Kaṉukkéṉi 1 mile; and many of smaller dimensions.

The bunds are generally faced on the inner side with a pitching of stone (*alaikallu* Tamil, *ṛelapána* Siṉ.), as at Pávaṭkuḷam, Íratperiyakuḷam, Paṇḍárakuḷam, &c.

In the bunds are found the remains of ancient stone sluices, which were usually provided with a *bisokoṭuwa*, or valve-pit, built of "long slabs of stone of considerable breadth and small thickness, laid on edge and fitted together with great care." Behind the stonework is a backing of brickwork. There are five of these sluices with *bisokoṭuwas* still to be seen at Pávatkuḷam, and Mr. Parker says, "so far as I am aware this is the only tank in the Island with more than four."

With one exception they are in fair order. Mámaḍu had three before its restoration, and Maḍukanda, Kaṉakaráyaṉkuḷam, and Periyakuḷam, also restored tanks, had each one. Examples are to be seen at Paṇḍárakuḷam, which has two, and at Mahá Rambaikuḷam, Chémamaḍu, Matavuvaittakuḷam, Putumuṛippukuḷam, Kuruntaṉkuḷam, Taṉṉírmuṛippu, Periyakuḷam, and Kachchilamaḍu. At Taṉṉírmuṛippu, unfortunately, most of the stones have been removed to build a Hindú temple,† otherwise it is in a good state of preservation.

With regard to one of the sluices at Íratperiyakuḷam, which is still in use, Mr. Parker remarks :—

> We have here a sluice which has continued in working order for 1,770 years or more. It is probably the oldest identified sluice in working order in the Island if this tank is the Alawichcha lake.‡

* Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 107–116, 179–187, 437–449, 453–460, 463–469, 473–477.

† The doorway of the temple at Vellaiya Muḷḷiváykkál near Mullaittívu is made of carved stones from Kuruṇṭúrmalai, adjoining Taṉṉirmuṛippu.

‡ Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 109.

The tanks were in many cases provided also with artificial spills or flood escapes, some of which remain. The floors and sides of these spill waters were often covered with large wedged stone pitching, as at Pávatkuḷam, where the spill is 125 ft. long and 60ft. wide ; Paṇḍárakuḷam, where it is 250 ft. long and 21 ft. wide ; and Vavuṉikuḷam. The spills were usually built as *kaliṉgulas*, *i.e.*, they were provided with a series of pillars, upon the framework of which a dam was erected for holding up an extra depth of about 2 ft. of water. An example is to be seen at Pávatkuḷam.

The pillars, which are very irregular in size and shape, are in pairs, a short one in front of a tall one 5 or 6 ft. high, and a few inches distant from it, their line crossing the spill-water slightly in front, *i.e.*, on the tank side of the centre line of the embankment. Between these pillars a temporary dam of sticks and earth would be raised when it was desired to retain extra water at the cessation of the north-east monsoon rains. For this purpose the extra height of the tall pillars would be of no use, and it may possibly have been used as the pier of a temporary foot-bridge, by which travellers could cross the flood that occasionally poured over the spill water.*

There is another smaller *kaliṉgula* 300 yards lower down the stream from the spill. Examples of *kaliṉgulas* are to be seen at Mahá Rambaikuḷam,† Mámaḍu, Erupotáne, Matavuvaittakuḷam, and Paṇḍárakuḷam. At Mahákachchaṭkoḍi the *kaliṉgula* has a single pillar only. There was a sort of *kaliṉgula* at the northern end of the bund of the Vavuṉiya tank before its restoration, but it is not visible.‡

With regard to the date of the construction of these tanks, there is perhaps more certainty as to the abandoned tank of Vavuṉikuḷam than any other. Mr. Parker says :—

Vavuṉikuḷam may be included among the earliest reservoirs in the Island. It is mentioned in the *Maháwaṉsa*.

* Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 110.

† *Id.*, p. 183. The pillars at Mahá Rambaikuḷam appear, however, to have been in threes and not in twos, which Mr. Parker has not noticed (diary of September 23, 1889).

‡ *Id.*, p. 179.

And he identifies it with the tank Peliwapigama, which is referred to in the *Maháwaṇsa* as situated seven *yójanas* northward of the capital. A hunter finds some gems "in the stream flowing through the broken embankment of the tank." Mr. Parker remarks :—

The distance of the existing road from Anurádhapura to a point on the Central road due east of the tank is 56 miles ; while according to the *Maháwaṇsa* the distance to the tank was 63 miles, a slight difference, which may fully be accounted for by the more devious route of the early path. The fact that a stream of size flowed through the breach of the tank proves that it was an important one, and there is no other large one at a suitable distance from Anurádhapura. Lastly, the ancient name of the tank is especially applicable to this reservoir only. Peliwapi is exactly the same as Pálikkuḷam, from which it seems to be evident that the river, the Páli-áṛu, has derived its name. What is thus learnt regarding this reservoir proves that it was abandoned, and the resort of hunters (and therefore more or less overgrown with jungle), so early as 161 B.C., when Duṭṭhagámini ascended the throne. Its state at that period, however, shows that it was breached at some considerably earlier date ; and as all that is known regarding the Tamil occupants of Anurádhapura renders it very unlikely that the work is of Tamil origin, the date of its construction may be assigned with comparative certainty to some period prior to 205 B.C., when Ilara became king.

Mr. Parker thinks that it is mentioned also in an inscription that is cut on a rock at Peramiyankuḷam, Anurádhapura. The inscription dates from the time of Wasabha, 66–110 A.D., and among other things it records the gift of the Páli-nágará tank to the Thera Majjhima. Some ruins that are said to be in the forest to the north-west of the tank may be possibly the remains of this *nágara* or city. The jungle in which they occur is termed the *Kóvilkáḍu*, or "temple jungle."*

These ruins have been inspected by Mr. H. Nevill, who describes them thus :—

* Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 468–469. See also Mr. G. M. Fowler's diary of May 14, 1887.

There is a ruined temple with a large stone Buddha some 8 ft. high still standing erect, but headless, and buried in tiles, bricks, &c., to his shoulder. Near him is Vishṇu, broken off at his waist and still erect; two flagstaff sockets or oil mortars over a small ruined dágaba; a temple or two of no consequence,—mere scraps,—and a larger temple with its posts all upset, and its Saivite lingam (*sic*) broken. There stands an inscribed stone, and after some search I discovered its missing top, broken off for a Piḷḷaiyár.*

Another tank of Siṉhalese construction, which probably dates from pre-Christian times, is Pávatkuḷam, which was the most important reservoir in the Waṉṉi :—

The bricks employed at two of the sluices are of a much older type than those of the Paḍawiya sluice, which was built at the end of the third century A.D. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions in the immediate neighbourhood, nor is there any local tradition regarding the originator of the work; this is doubtless due to the occupancy of the place by the Tamils after they seized upon the district. If Siṉhalese had always lived at it, the ancient Siṉhalese name of the tank might have been preserved. This reservoir is such an important one that it is almost certain to be mentioned in the old historical works, if we only knew what name it bore.†

The only vestiges of the former inhabitants of the place, besides the tank itself, are the ruins of a small dágaba which once existed on a high rock, included in the line of the bund, a large slab for flower offerings which is now placed on an adjoining rock, and a large stone with a roughly carved figure of a five-headed cobra on it.

The stone slab is now known as "The King's Seat," and Mr. Parker's surmise as to how it acquired this name is probably correct. He says :—

From it a good view is obtainable of the tank and part of the watershed, as well as in the opposite direction, and it may perhaps have been placed in its present position by order of some Tamil ruler.

Mahákachchatkoḍi in Kilakkumúlai South, which is one of

* Diary of June 8, 1889.

† Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 113–114.

the earliest settlements in the Wanni, also probably dates from pre-Christian times. Its Sinhalese name is Tittávéli.*

The hill at Kuruntankulam or Piyangala is identified by Mr. Parker as the spot visited by Buddha on his second journey to Ceylon, and the tank would therefore date from at least the middle of the third century B.C. The adjoining large tank, Tannirmurippu, may have been of later date, or it may have been repaired later.†

Íratperiyakulam, Mr. Parker thinks, is the "Alawichcha lake" named in an inscription at the base of the large rock which towers above the tank and village, in which case "the lake" must have been constructed prior to 113 A.D.‡

Periyakulam he would assign to the first two centuries A.D., Mámadu and Olumadu to the second or third century,§ Kanakaráyankulam to the third or fourth century, and Vavuniya to the fourth or fifth.‖ Pandárakulam is also of ancient date, but nothing is known regarding its early name and history.¶

There are two ancient stone dams or weirs on the Kallárru and another one on the Péráru, which are fully described by Mr. H. Parker.** Of the former, one, which he calls the "Kuriñchákulam†† tekkam," is situated close to where the Púvarasankulam-Venkalacheddikkulam road crosses the river; the other, which is of superior construction and probably of later date, is some four miles lower down the river. They both appear to be of early date, but Mr. Parker thinks they were built long after the completion of Pávatkulam.

* Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 186.

† *Id.*, p. 449.

‡ *Id.*, p. 109.

§ *Ip.*, pp. 185–439. Mámadu is perhaps considerably earlier. It was repaired in the tenth century A.D.

‖ *Id.*, p. 180.

¶ *Id.*, p. 444.

** *Id.*, pp. 114–116, 455–456.

†† I could not find that the villagers knew it by this name. It is simply known as the *Alaikaddu* ("wave-bund"), as is the other dam lower down the river. (See diary of May 11, 1890.)

The third, the Adukku-kallu anicut, is two miles below the Maṇmalai tank, and formed a part of the same scheme.*

There is another anicut across the Páliyáṛu called Chempakam Cheḍḍikallu, 2½ miles from Múṉṉumuṛippu, which is supposed to be artificial.

The remains of an ancient stone bridge are to be seen in the jungle behind the Olukkuḷam village near the minor road from Neḷukkuḷam :—

It was 200 or 300 ft. long, and was raised upon piers of substantial stone posts. It crossed the stream which flowed from the southern low level sluice and *kaliṅgula*. The road which passes over it still goes by the name of the *Máwata*, "the high road," although the ends of the bridge are hidden in dense jungle. The people say that this was a main road from Anurádhapura to Jaffna, possibly by way of Upatissa-nuwara.†

At the lower dam on the Kalláṛu are to be seen what may be the vestiges of another bridge, which would also have been on a high road from Upatissa-nuwara :—

In the up-stream part of the rock on which this lower dam is built, and about 30 ft. distant, there is a row of six socket holes,‡ 9 in. square in plan and about 10 or 12 ft. apart, running straight across the river, and nearly parallel to the dam. One of the holes is only slightly cut and two others are but little deeper ; the depth of the deepest one is 9 in. Two gaps exist where the cutting of other holes has not been begun.§

There are remains of ancient irrigation channels : one connecting Maḍukanḍa with Maṇiyárkuḷam, a distance of about 2 miles ; two at Pávatkuḷam, which have been traced 3 and 2¼ miles respectively ; and also at Putumuṛippukuḷam, Taṇṇirmuṛippu, and other tanks.

* It appears to be called also "The Women's Dam." There is no tradition accounting for the name. (Diary of May 16, 1886.)

A natural ledge of rock across the Páliyáṛu, 2½ miles from Panankámam, has been mistaken for an artificial dam. "The gneiss rock has split in such a manner that in places it looks artificial, but that is often seen." (Diary of May 12, 1886.)

† Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 114.

‡ *Id.*, p. 116. They may have been intended to hold posts before the anicut was built, against which a temporary dam was raised when the flood subsided.

§ *Id.*, p. 110.

In the Vavuṇiya District the largest Buddhist establishments were situated in Kilakkumúlai South in the neighbourhood of Periyapuḷiyaṉkuḷam, Erupotána, and Maḍukanda. The rocks at Erupotána and Periyapuḷiyaṉkuḷam have been explored. "They are full of caves, nearly all of which are partly artificial." Mr. Fowler "found a great many caves and inscriptions which the villagers had never seen before. In some there were remains of brickwork.* A stone enclosure was found, which probably surrounded a bó-tree."

On another visit more inscriptions were found, and a curious circular building on the summit of the smaller hill. The remains of a flight of steps are to be traced leading from the large caves and bó-tree enclosure at the foot of the hill up to this building. There are also about forty or fifty stone pillars about 8 ft. high standing round the foot of the larger boulder on which the building is erected. Some appear to be the supports of a verandah or roof in front of the caves, and others are probably the remains of a *pilima-gé*, but no statue could be found. The site of the hill was evidently terraced formerly.†

At Erupotána an inscription was found on a rock near the channel through the bund.

The hill is nearly as rich in inscriptions as the Periyapuḷiyaṉkuḷam hills. There is one over a large cave with a broken statue of Buddha, a pedestal of a sedent Buddha, and other carved stones. The cave is peculiar, as it has a kind of well in it, which has been partly excavated in search of treasure.

The cave was covered with chunam, probably painted formerly. In another cave we found a piece of ancient pottery, apparently a piece of a priest's begging-bowl. On the summit of the rock there was a dágaba. The level space on the top of the rock has traces of buildings. There are holes cut in the rock, which probably held the supports of a ladder formerly. There must have been an extraordinary number of priests about this neighbourhood.‡

* December 12, 1886. Mr. Parker copied fifteen inscriptions on this occasion.

† July 14, 1887.

‡ Diary of December 17, 1886.

There are the ruins of two monastic establishments at Maḍukanda, one close to the high road to Trincomalee and the other under the bund at the northern end of the tank. The former, which have been cleared of jungle by the people of the village, consist of a *bana maḍuwa* with a sedent figure of Buddha and covered pillars, and of the ruins of a *pokuṇa* and of a curious chamber or bath. The entrance to the *bana maḍuwa* is in a fine state of preservation. It has a flight of steps with a *makara toraṇa* and guardian goddess on each side of the steps. The image of Buddha is somewhat mutilated.

This temple is celebrated as one of the places at which the tooth-relic was lodged on its way from India to Anurádhapura, and the stone slab upon which the enclosing *karaṇḍuwa* was deposited is still shown. A circle cut on the slab is said to mark the position of the *karaṇḍuwa.**

The other ruins at Maḍukanda may be said to have been discovered in 1890, when the jungle which covered the site was partly cleared away.†

At Mahákachchatkoḍi there are rocks, caves, and the remains of several monastic edifices. There are the ruins of a *póya-gé;* two parallel rows of plain squared pillars, five on one side and three on the other, are still standing. At the end is a flight of steps with one of the *doraṭupála* stones visible. In the middle is a heap of *débris.* Further in the jungle are a stone altar and door post. The limits of the square enclosure of the temple are marked by lines of cut stones.

In one of the caves (now utilized as a *paṇsala*), which is said to have been the *vihára-gé*, are two headless stone

* The next halting-place in the north-east is said to have been Erupotána. "If the procession travelled an equal distance between each halting-place the next would be not far from Ruwanmaḍuwa." (Diary of October 15, 1888.)

† See diaries of October 15, 1887, July 9, 1888, and July 23, 1889; also Sessional Papers, 1886. These ruins are described in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), vol. XII., p. 111.

images of Buddha, but both heads are forthcoming. Outside are the bases and feet of these images, and five stones, each having a representation of the *srípáda*, or sacred feet of Buddha. One of the *srípáda* stones is much larger than the others, and has a bevelled edge. Cut on all the stones between the two feet is a curious ornament, which looks like a vase with a closed lotus flower depending from each side of it.

On the top of the hill are the ruins of a dágaba with an octagonal pillar at the top, and also of another *póya-gé*, similar to the first one, but with fewer pillars standing.*

The only other Buddhist monastery in Kilakkumúlai South which has left any visible signs of its existence is at Iratperiyakuḷam, on the side of the road about a quarter mile from the bund of the tank, where are the ruins of a *póya-gé* with a large sedent stone image of Buddha and the usual two rows of pillars with a flight of steps. Mr. Parker would "hesitate to identify (these ruins) as those belonging to the Tihadiya Viháré, which was probably on the high rock Iratperiyakuḷamkanda, where some remains were found when the trigonometrical tower was built."†

Fragmentary and isolated indications of the former faith of the Wanni are however here and there met with. In the village clearing at Tirupanmaḍuwa is to be seen a curious stone, which apparently stood on two pillars and a flat stone now lying near it. It is divided into twenty-five sunken compartments of different sizes, some square and some oblong. It is said to be a *vidharsena* stone, *i.e.*, a stone used by Buddhist priests to assist them in their meditations.‡

Vavuṇiya, curiously enough, though it has one of the largest tanks of Siṇhalese construction, has nothing to show in the way of ruins. In the village is to be seen a Buddhist altar slab for flowers, now doing duty as a Piḷḷaiyár shrine under a large tree. It is said that there was an inscription close to

* Diary of August 22 and November, 1889.

† Sessional Papers, p. 1886, 109.

‡ See Diary of November 10, 1889.

the tank on a rock over which the Horowapotána road passes, but if it really existed it was completely destroyed when the road was formed.* In 1888 some plain cut stones were used for culverts. A small brass or gilt image of Buddha was dug up in a garden at Vavuṇiya in 1886, and is now in the Colombo Museum.†

On the path to Tavasi-veli is a large carved altar stone.

In Kilakkumúlai North there are three ruined monasteries, one at Chémamaḍu, which had an important tank, one at Málikai, and one at Pálaimóḍḍai. At Chémamaḍu, "beyond the western end of the bund, at about one-eighth of a mile to the west of the minor road, an ancient monastery existed, at which a dágaba and several buildings were constructed. The bricks of the dágaba are of two types, one of which dates from the second or third century B.C.; the other belongs to perhaps the tenth century A.D., and indicates the restoration of the structure by some Siṅhalese monarch at that period, after it had been rifled during the previous Tamil usurpation."‡

At Málikai the small *pilima-gé* of the monastery has been turned into a Piḷḷaiyár temple, with the head of the Buddha image serving as Piḷḷaiyár. The entrance steps with the usual balustrade on each side are easily detected, though one balustrade is broken and the other buried. This village, it may be noted, has apparently retained its Siṅhalese name (Málikai = *máligáwa*).

At Pálaimóḍḍa, near the tank, is a ruined viháré and a stone figure of Buddha about 2½ ft. high seated on a cobra; also a shallow bowl cut in a large stone, and the usual broken stone pillars and scattered bricks. The head of the image has been recently broken off. The Tamils call the site the "Treasure place" (*Putaiyalpuḍḍi*).§

* Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 180.

† Diary of March 17, 1886.

‡ Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 440.

§ Diaries of June 6, 1889, and July 4, 1892.

A carved elephant's head with trunk twisted to one side, like those at the Miriswetiya dágaba at Anurádhapura, now serves as a Pillaiyár on the bund of the tank at Kontakkáraṉkuḷam, and a *srípáda* stone at Paṉrikkayakuḷam serves the same purpose.*

Omantai, 8 miles north of Vavuṉiya on the Jaffna road, "is said to have been one of the places where the tooth rested on its way from India, but as there are no ruins of a Buddhist monastery at the place the tradition may be doubted." It possesses a stone Saivite temple of the usual type, which may have been built out of the ruins of a Buddhist monastery.

There is "a ruined Saivite temple of the Wanniyan times" at Márá-iluppai.

Proceeding northwards we find that Uḍaiyáúr possessed a Buddhist monastery attached to the large tank of Kaṉakaráyáṉkuḷam. It was established behind the southern part of the bund. The remains may be seen in the jungle. "The *pilima-gé* of the monastery has been converted into a Hindú temple dedicated to Áṇḍiya. It appears to date from the third or fourth century A.D."† Judging from the name of the tank and the local tradition, a petty Waṉṉi king appears to have had his headquarters here.

Built into the bund of the tank were to be seen before its restoration the remains of a bathing-place, which was said to have been the bathing-place of the king who formerly lived here. A semicircular mound projected into the tank, and evidently a flight of steps led from the top of it down into the tank. Only two of the stones of the side walls were in position. The steps are lying about, some broken, in the bed of the tank. The stones of the side wall are backed with brickwork, the bricks having curious marks (five wavy

* Diary of February 8, 1890.

† Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 439. One relic of this monastery is to be seen at the resthouse. It is *srípáda* stone of the size of the larger one at Mahákachchatkoḍi, about 2 ft. square. It is built in as a step to one of the side verandahs. It was brought from the Hindú temple. (Diary of November 22, 1889.)

lines) commonly found on ancient bricks in the District. The bricks are of the same size as those in the sluice at Venkalacheḍḍikkuḷam, and bear the same mark,* so probably that tank and this were constructed about the same date.†

In Chinnachcheḍḍikkuḷam, the south-western part of the Waṉṉi, there are ruins to be seen, as may be expected, in the neighbourhood of the ancient tanks of Siṉhalese construction at Venkalacheḍḍikkulam and Marutamaḍu.

At Venkalacheḍḍikkulam, in the jungle close to the village clearing, are the remains of a brick dágaba; a number of bricks with marks on them; a large rectangular stone hollowed out on one side, which was apparently a bath; a flat stone 5 ft. by 4 in., and one of the balustrades of a flight of steps, of the usual *makara toraṇa* shape, such as are seen at Taḍḍayámalai, Maḍukanda, &c. Probably the other balustrade is buried close by, if not *in situ*.‡

In the neighbourhood of Marutamaḍu is a small dágaba which, like nearly all others in the Waṉṉi, has been opened in search of treasure.

Close to the road from Olukkuḷam to Kappáchchi, not far from the main road, is to be seen a ruined dágaba.

In Naḍuchcheḍḍikkuḷam, between Púvarasankuḷam and Pámpaimaḍu, is a small pond called Kalmaḍu with a ruined dágaba, about 20 ft. in diameter, which has apparently been opened in search of treasure. There are one or two broken pillars near the pool.

At Irasentiraṉkuḷam, in the same *pattu*, are the ruins of a viháré and other remains in the jungle near the tank. A Tamil temple was built here, for which many of the stones have been utilized. Curious old tiles have been found here.

* Bricks or tiles with the same mark have been found at Irasentiraṉkuḷam, Nochchikuḷam, &c.

The mark is just as if the five fingers had been drawn lengthwise over the clay when it was wet.

† Diaries of March 28 and June 23, 1887.

‡ Diaries of September 23 and May 12, 1890.

At Matavuvaittakuḷam, a fine ancient Siṉhalese tank in the same division, is a five-headed cobra now set up in a Hindú temple on the bund.

Méṭkumúlai, the western division of the Waṉṉi, bears signs of having at one time been thickly populated. There are many abandoned tanks, some of large size, and deserted villages. At Iraṇaiyiluppaikkuḷam there are some ruins close to the road in front of the village—a pillar, upright, square, on a stone, other stones imbedded in earth, and a quantity of square bricks, with an abandoned and filled-up well.*

There are said to be ruins at a large abandoned tank north-east of Pálampuḍḍi, called Málikai-kaḍḍiṉairávi—pillars and a stone house.† This, it may be remarked, is another place which has retained the Siṉhalese name *máligáwa*, and incorporated it in its present Tamil name, and this word shows that a building of some importance once existed here.

At Vinaiyánkuḷam, one mile south of Pálampuḍḍi, are to be seen a mutilated Buddha and some pillars,‡ and at Chelliya-villu, the extreme limit of the Mullaittívu District, on the Maṉṉár side, is a stone with a socket cut in it for a pillar; and bricks are scattered about in the neighbourhood.§

Paṇaṉkámam, the division north of Meṭkumúlai, was the headquarters of the Waṉṉi in the time of the Waṉṉi chiefs, and perhaps for that reason the traces of the former Siṉhalese inhabitants are but slight. The ruins of Vavuṉikulam have already been referred to. There is no record that any distinctively Buddhist remains have so far been met with in this *pattu*.

Mr. Nevill states that there is a large tank four miles from Paṇḍárakaṭkuḷam, and "this was the residence of the Waṉṉi prince of this district until our time." He further states that "the temple and houses are still standing, but in ruins." No one appears to have been to visit them.‖

* June 2, 1884.

† May 15, 1886. The ruins do not seem to have yet been explored.

‡ Diary of September, 1886.

‖ Diary of June 7, 1889.

§ Diary of October 2, 1886.

The only traces (besides the tanks) of the Siṉhalese that I have known of as having been found in Mélpattu South are the upper half of an inscribed pillar* which I found on the bund of Chinnapúvarasaṉkuḷam, used as a Pillaiyár. This part was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height, and had been broken off short at the bottom. It is square, with the top rounded off in a neck and surmounted by a small cone with a claw-like ornament at each of the four sides.

On one face there is the Buddhist wheel, and there are inscriptions on at least two sides.

In Mélpattu East there are ruins at Ariyamaḍu and at Káncḥúramoḍḍai, adjoining villages, while between Kúlankuḷam and Ruwanmaḍuwa to the south of it on the way to Padawiya tank the jungle contains many ruins—pillars and bricks scattered about. Those at Ariyamaḍu are about a quarter of a mile from the village, and consist of pillars and remnants of pillars, and an image of Buddha with head and arms gone.† Near the tank at Káncḥúramóḍḍai there are a dágaba and other remains of a Siṉhalese monastery.‡

Ruwanmaḍuwa, on the south-eastern limit of the Vavuṉiya District, was probably at one time the residence of one of the petty Wanni kings, and the neighbourhood must have been thickly populated. The ruins here consist of a square brick-walled enclosure, containing numerous pillars, stone mortars, and other dressed stones, but all very rough work, The ground is covered with bricks and tiles. The enclosure was, Mr. Fowler thinks, the king's residence. There is a dágaba in very good preservation, about thirty or forty feet high, and unopened. There are also the remains of *pansal* and *pilima-geval* and a stone-inscribed slab. At the entrance to one of the temples is a flight of steps with two small upright stones and balusters, shaped like elephants' trunks. The work is of a much

* The other half of the pillar is said to be buried in the bund. I tried to get it dug out, but without success. (Diary of June 19, 1890.)

† Diary of May 26, 1884.

‡ Diary of July 15, 1887.

rougher description than the similar entrances at Maḍukanda, Kuruntúrmalai, Tiraviyamalai, &c. The upright stones, instead of having guardian goddesses carved on them as at these places, have simply a rough outline cut into the surface. The steps are of brick.

There was also an ornamental pillar, octagonal in shape, with a figure of a dog with his paw resting on a ball cut on one side and that of a crow on the other, and at the top the Buddhist wheel and other designs. This has since been removed to the Assistant Government Agent's compound at Vavuṇiya, where it now stands.*

To go on northwards to the Mullaittívu District. The next Buddhist monastery is found close to the ancient Siṉhalese tank which is now called Paṇḍárakuḷam, in the forest at a short distance to the west of the field. It possibly dates from the second or third century A.D. Its Siṉhalese name is unknown. Similar ruins are to be found throughout this neighbourhood, and there is good reason to believe that the main road by which, in pre-Christian times, travellers proceeded from Anurádhapura to the east coast of India passed down this valley. There appears to have been a regular chain of monasteries marking the route from Paḍawiya northwards through the Waṉṉi.†

I went to see these ruins in 1889. The rocky hill on which they stand is known as *Tiraviya-malai* ("Treasure Hill"), because, as usual, it is said that treasure is buried there.

It is a half or three-quarters of a mile on the other side of the minor road to that on which Paṇḍárakuḷam lies. The hill is formed out of huge black rocks. Ascending this I came across the ruins of a temple (*pilima-gé*) built in four parallel rows of rectangular pillars, nine of which pillars

* Diaries of July 13, 1887, April 19, 1889, and November 5, 1889.

† Sessional Papers, 1886, page 443. The port of embarkation was probably situated 9 or 10 miles south of Mullaittívu on the Chemmalai lagoon. Travellers by this route would pass Ruwanmaduwa, Ariyámaḍu, and Káṅchúramóḍḍai, Otiyamalai, Kurunturmalai, at all of which places there are ruins of Buddhist monasteries. Paṇḍárakuḷam, however, would be rather out of the way.

were standing, half of them not in the least out of perpendicular. In the midst of the pillars was a recumbent figure of Buddha half buried, and with the head missing.* The figure was about 7 ft. long, both forearms were broken off, but the right one was found, minus the hand.

About fifteen yards from this temple, and (as well as I could make out) south-east of it, is a smaller temple, with only three pillars standing, two of which are broken. But I noticed the tops of two *doraṭupála* stones just appearing above the ground, and also the outline of one of the *makara toraṇa* stones; and on digging I found that the former had figures of guardian goddesses exactly like those at Maḍukandu and Kuruntankuḷam.

The steps are no doubt intact under the surface. This is evidently the entrance to the small temple. This temple has a fourth and smaller pillar, with rounded edges, lying on the ground.

Another fifteen yards from this is a third temple, near a large black rock with three sides perpendicular, the fourth shelving over and forming a cave temple, which, when I visited it, bore evidence of recent occupation by bears.

The pillars of this third temple are of the same height as those of the first, but most of them are larger. They are not square, but rectangular, some being 1½ ft. by 1 ft. by 9 in.

In front of the *póya-gé* there is a stone about 1 ft. square with a lotus cut on the top. On digging in the neighbourhood a second stone of the same pattern was found, but not in the proper position. These two stones apparently flanked an entrance gate or flight of steps;† near them was a flat stone roughly hollowed out, probably used to wash flowers in before presenting them at the temple.

There is another large gently-sloping rock forming the summit of the hill, with a flight of stone steps in two stages

* I found the head in the village compound, to which it had been removed by a villager.

† These stones are now in the Assistant Government Agent's compound at Vavuṇiya.

leading to the top. Near the top there are large flat stones and a plain semicircular moonstone, 4 ft. in diameter. Another stone near the moonstone, of about the same size, has the surface cut as if some steps had fitted into it.*

There are ruins also in the village—a large flat stone surrounded by upright pillars.

There are extensive ruins at Mannakandal, between Odduchkuddán and Putukkudiyiruppu, turning off the minor road between the 8th and 9th mileposts, which I went to see in June, 1890. I can find no record of their having been visited or described before, so at the risk of being tedious I give a description of them.

I turned off on the western side of the road between the 8th and 9th mileposts. There is the bund of a large abandoned tank abutting on the road and running at right angles to it. It is covered with jungle, and had never been explored, but there can be no doubt that an important tank existed here.†

The ruins are situated on some rising ground, which is quite flat at the top, and appear to have been enclosed by a wall; close together there are the ruins of seven temples of the usual type, parallel rows of rectangular pillars, and of different sizes. The largest was built on a platform faced with brick, the outline of which is still remaining. The space enclosed within the pillars is, as in the case of all the others, heaped up with *débris*, bricks, tiles, and earth, and very likely if this were cleared the usual images of Buddha would be found lying underneath in the *pilima-gé*. I determined to see whether I could find the entrance steps to this larger temple. Taking the side facing east (the building was of rectangular shape, with the long sides on the east and west) I noticed the top of a stone appearing above the surface. Getting the earth cleared away I found it was one of the balustrades of the steps, of the usual elephant-trunk shape.

* Diary of September 15, 1890.

† It has since been explored. It is now called Puliyankulam. It has a stone sluice, and with the connected tank appears to have formed a large irrigation scheme.

At the foot there was another stone just appearing above the surface of the ground, and digging in front of this I found that it had on it the usual figure of a guardian goddess very deeply carved into the stone. The top of the stone, including the head of the figure, was broken off, but I found it close by, though mutilated. I found the other balustrade and stone in their proper position (the latter also broken), and, between the two balustrades, the steps. There are also the ruins of a dágaba close by.

In front of another temple there are three stone steps, diminishing in size from the topmost one. This was probably the main entrance to the whole set of buildings. There are many bricks and tiles scattered all about the place. One tile was found indented at one end with the marks of the five fingers pulled along it when it was wet, like those found lately at Irasentirankulam and Nochchikuḷam. Not far from these ruins there is a large square *pokuṇa*, all four sides built up with cabook-like stone. On measurement it was found to be 90 yards square, but originally I think it may have been 100, as the sides have fallen in. Near it was a rectangular stone, 3 ft. by 2 ft., with raised borders, such as are used to place flowers on before an image of Buddha or a bó-tree.

The people call these ruins *Kaṉṉya-kóvil*, because there are seven temples, and they say there were seven Wanniyan virgin chieftainesses.*

In the same division, Mélpattu North, there are rock temples at Vávaḍḍaimalai, about two miles south of Oḍḍuchuḍḍán. On one rock there are several pillars of the usual rough kind marking the site of a temple. A flight of steps from this leads down to a *pokuṇa* at the foot. The other rock, about 100 yards south of this one, has caves, which were evidently temples.†

* Diary of June 26, 1890. These were probably the seven daughters of Nanti, who are referred to in the *Kalveḍḍu*.

† Diary of June 4, 1886.

At Kachchilamaḍu there are the ruins of a temple under the tank bund—pillars, cut stones of various shapes, stone steps, bricks, and a headless statue of Buddha.

Another Buddhist establishment existed in the same neighbourhood at Taḍḍayamalai, four or five miles west of Kachchilamaḍu :—

> In former times there was a monastery near the western end of the Taḍḍayamalai bund. Although many of the best stones and bricks have been removed to the Oḍḍuchuḍḍan Hindú temple within the last twelve or thirteen years,* enough remains to indicate the importance of the place. The special feature at it is an interesting piece of dry walling of the Cyclopean style that protected one corner of the brick-walled enclosure of the monastery from the scour caused by the stream that flows through the breach.†

The ruins consist of four balustrades, a stone slab 12 ft. by 6 ft. and 2 ft. and 2½ ft. thick with carved ends, which is said to have been the roof of the temple; a stone "boat" 30 ft. long and 5 ft. deep. Two of the balustrades have a boss carved on them. There are many large boulders lying about, one or more of them masonry built, forming large elevated platforms.‡

This monastery is supposed to be older than that at Kuruntúrmalai.

There are stone pillars, bricks, and other remains of ancient buildings at Chivantaimurippu in the jungle west of the Kokkilay lake, between Kokkutoḍaváy and Taḍḍayamalai.

An interesting and very elaborate *srípáda* stone which belonged to this place, but which was removed to Koḍḍaikkéṇi, will be found described in the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) for 1890. It is now in the Colombo Museum.

At Otiyamalai, in the south-eastern corner of Mélpaṭṭu North, there is a rock on the bund of the tank with the remains of another monastery on it, a recumbent image of Buddha of crystallized limestone or quartz, under an

* This was done in 1882.

† Sessional Papers, 1886, page 454.

‡ See diary of Mr. Moir, 1862.

overhanging ledge of rock which was formerly enclosed by a brick wall in front. Mr. Fowler states that there is an exactly similar cave temple not far from Galkandamaḍuwa, the southernmost limit of the Vavuṇiya District, and that the image is of the same stone, and, like this one, has lost the head and right arm.*

But the most extensive ruins in the whole Province are those at Kuruṇtúrmalai, or Piyangala, at the south end of the embankment of the Kuruṇtúrkuḷam tank in Karikkaḍḍumúlai South. Mr. Parker thinks that—

> This is the spot that is said to have been visited by Buddha on his second journey to Ceylon.†
>
> A flight of stone steps led from the end of the bund to the summit of the hill. The top of the hill is flat, and of elliptical or oval shape. Round the side facing the bund, and possibly round all the summit, a retaining wall of squared blocks of the hard altered gneiss has been built to a height of 7 ft. or 8 ft. at a batter of ½ to 1.
>
> There are several ruins on the hill, and at the back of the northern part of the bund; but they are all dilapidated, more through wilful defacement by the later Tamil occupants than by the action of time.

About half way between the southern end of the bund and the southernmost bund is the site of an ancient temple, with a stone image of a five-headed cobra.‡

Behind the bund there are the ruins of at least three temples or buildings of importance, such as at Maḍukanda, Mahákachchaṭkoḍi, Iratperiyakuḷam, &c., having three parallel rows of squared stone pillars; in one case there had been at least three of these rows. At one place there were standing two *doratupála* stones covered with carved figures of guardian goddesses, exactly like those at Maḍukanda, but they were more than half buried, and the space between them, where there is evidently a flight of steps, is completely buried, with a tree growing in the middle.§

* Diary of June 17, 1886. See also Mr. Haughton's diary of June 12, 1883.

† Sessional Papers, 1886, page 449.

‡ Diary of June 12, 1888.

§ Stones were removed from Kuruṇtúrmalai in 1858 to build the Mullivaikkal temple, I believe.

One of the two *makara toraṇa* stones which form the balustrade of the steps as at Maḍukanda is lying on the surface turned over on its side, and the other is probably lying buried somewhere near. On digging here the top step was seen, and the whole are probably *in situ*. There is also a large inscribed slab. In another place is a roughly-executed figure of a bull, the head broken off but forthcoming, and a figure representing a worshipper. These figures evidently belonged to the Hindú temple which was built after the Tamil invasion.

There is also a large heap of bricks, apparently the remains of a dágaba, and there are pillars on all sides.*

The town or large village that was built on the low side of the embankments, and traces of which are to be seen in the fragments of pottery that line the beds of the smaller water-courses, is termed *Kurungama* in the inscription. The Tamil name was Kuruntan-úr. The later Tamil residents built a temple here, and they demolished the viháré built by Sanghabodi and other buildings, and removed nearly all the bricks and the stonework to it. It is not known when the tank was breached and the town was abandoned; all that can be said is that there is nothing to indicate that the place has been inhabited since the thirteenth or fourteenth century.†

There are several of these high rocks with cave temples in the District. The highest is Kumpakannanmalai, to the south of Kuruṇtúrmalai, due north of Paḍawiya and about two miles from Káḍḍutaḍḍámalai.

This rock was—

Evidently utilized as a cave temple. The sockets and pillars are visible, but no inscriptions. There are pillars standing on the slope of the hill, and there is a built *pokuṇa* at the foot. The natives are afraid to shoot at this pool, as they believe it to be haunted. There is a cave under the rock which is a perfect sanctuary for bears, as they cannot be ejected from it. It has three openings on different sides of the rock. The height of the rock is about 300 ft.

This rock was visited by Mr. Pole in 1847, who noticed—

Interesting remains of an old temple—bricks with devices and Tamil letters, cut stone doors, &c., and found in the old stone path

* Diaries of June 8, 1883, August 5, 1887, and September 13, 1889.
† Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 449.

nearly at the top four old copper coins in a very perfect state of preservation, with characters so distinct that if the language be now in existence some notion may be formed of the date of the remains of the ancient works.

He adds—

I should strongly recommend them [archæologists] to go to Kompanammalai before it is too late. When the [proposed] road is opened these remains will no longer be protected, as they appear to have been for ages by its position in the depths of the jungle.*

At Savarattuveli, in Karikkaḍḍumúlai South, Mr. Nevill saw a ruined temple with a pond near it, and "the basement of a palace or temple close to the houses at Kaḍḍutaḍḍamalai" in the same division—pillars, slabs, stones, and bricks scattered here and there.†

A hill formed of bricks and stones at Virátttuchólai, also in Karikaḍḍumúlai South, marks the site of another temple.

In Karikkaḍḍumúlai North there are ruins and a broken statue at Putankulam near Tanniyuttu, and an ancient tank at Kanukkéni, badly breached.

The Kumarapúram temple, a comparatively modern structure, though now in ruins, need not be described here, as it has received as much attention as it deserves already in this Journal.‡ The Putukkuḍiyiruppu division has a similar ruin called Kuravil-kovil, about eight miles from the village of Putukkuḍiyiruppu. It consists merely of a heap of bricks with a circular stone on top of it.

In the extreme north of Karunáválpattu, at Putumuripukuḷam—

The remains of a Buddhist monastery are to be seen in the tract below the tank. Judging by the dimensions of the bricks used in the dágaba the settlement seems to have been of early date. So far as I am aware this monastery is the most northern ruin to which a Siṅhalese origin can be attributed. It is only 8 or 9 miles from Elephant Pass.§

* Diary of June 9, 1847.

† Diary of January 20, 1889.

‡ Vol. II., Appendix, p. cvi; *Monthly Literary Register*, vol. I., p. 270.

§ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 465.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Mr. Parker has promised a report "dealing with the archæology of the northern part of the Island," and giving the inscriptions copied by him, but it has not yet appeared.*

There is an inscription on the inner side of one of the boulders on the *Periyapuḷiyaṇkuḷam* rock, which has been copied by Mr. Murray, but it has not been published.†

A square inscribed pillar found by Mr. Nevill at *Mutaliyákuḷam*, and the upper half of the pillar found on the bund of *Chiṇṇapúvarasaṇkuḷam*, as already described, are now in the Assistant Government Agent's premises at Vavuṇiya.

The inscription on the latter has not been copied, and neither inscription has been translated.

There is "a fine and interesting rock inscription by Meghawanna Abhaya II. (302–30 A.D.)" near the *Maṇiyarkuḷam* tank.‡

Iratperiyakuḷam.—Inscription by King Gaja Báhu I. on the bund, recording a gift of food to the priesthood at the Tihadaya Viháré, on the shore of the Alawichcha lake. It is almost certain that we have here the ancient name of the tank.§

Mámaḍu.—Inscription by Kassapa V. (937–54 A.D.), stating that in his thirteenth year he repaired this and other tanks.§

Mahákachchatkodi.—Inscriptions over the entrances to the caves; probably of date B.C.‖

Oḷumaḍu.—A broken pillar on the bund inscribed on its four faces with characters of the tenth century.¶ This

* Sessional Papers, 1886, page 109.

† Diary of January 25, 1893; but see also Mr. Haughton's diary of January 21, 1883, p. 107.

‡ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 109.

§ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 185.

‖ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 186.

¶ The stone on which this inscription is engraved was broken by the Public Works Department coolies, but fortunately it has been repaired. The upper part is illegible from having been used as a curry-stone. (December 16, 1886.)

inscription was cut by orders of either Kassapa VI. or Dápulu V., and on the only face that is sufficiently whole to be translated it is commanded as usual that the cows and cart buffaloes are not to be taken away.* On the other side is a design like a lamp or vase. Mr. Fowler thinks the stone probably came from Taddayamalai.†

Kuruntankulam.—Inscription by Mahindu III. (937–1013 A.D.), who visited the tank with his mother (?) and daughter in the eighth year of his reign. It is on a large slab, and is one of the largest inscriptions in the Island, but for the most part now illegible, containing—

Chiefly a series of rules like those on the Mihintalé tablets, to be observed by the monks who were stationed here, but few references of more general interest are included in it, and allusion is made to the king's great lake (which would appear to be Tannirmurippu), and also to some disputes that were having an injurious effect on the cultivation. The king, who states that he himself was the writer of the inscription upon the stone, and who appears to have had some doubts regarding his orthographical powers, commands that these rules "shall continue in force, and not be upset or reconstructed if letters are missing."‡

The town that existed on this site is termed *Kurungama* in the inscription.

This slab is now in three pieces. The letters on it are very fairly and evenly cut, each one separated by horizontal lines cut as straight as if they had been done with a ruler, and there is a raised border round the stone.§

At *Ruwanmaḍuwa* Mr. Fowler found a large inscribed slab, 7 ft. in width, with a roughly-cut inscription, in characters differing considerably from the rock inscriptions.‖ A pillar removed from here to Vavuṉiya has inscriptions apparently on two sides.

* Page 439.

† See reference under note ¶, p. 174, *ante*.

‡ Page 449.

§ September 13, 1889.

‖ July 13, 1887. Mr. Fowler copied only five lines of it, as it was half buried, but a copy was made of the whole of it in November, 1890, for the Government Agent. (November 10, 1890.)

An inscribed stone has recently been excavated at *Periya-kulam* during the restoration of the tank. The inscription remains to be copied and translated.

This closes for the present the list of Buddhist archæological remains in the Waṉṉi, for I do not think that any others have so far been discovered.

Some two hundred copper plaques were found in a garden in Mullaittívu town a few years ago, specimens of which are in the Museum, but such finds have been few in the Waṉṉi.

APPENDIX.

MR. H. PARKER has, I find, published translations of four of the inscriptions at Periya Puliyankulam and of one at Érupotána. I take over his notes as they appear in the "Ceylon Literary Register"* :—

They are cut at "caves" in some little-known rocky hills at Periya Puliyankulam, eight miles to the north-east of Vavuṇiya-Viláṉkulam. The majority of the inscriptions at this place are of the usual cave type, and are of uncertain age; but the following are of more general interest, as being, in some cases, contemporary with those of the great Indian king Aṣóka, and of historical importance.

The chief one is repeated at three caves. All three inscriptions—of which two were copied by Mr. G. M. Fowler, C.C.S., and one by me—are imperfect, owing to the decay of the rock; but on comparing them the full text is obtained, with the exception of part of the last word. The text is as follows, the capitals being mine :—

Raja Naga jita raja Uti jaya Abi Anurudi ca raja Uti ca karapita setama leṇa cata disa sagaya agata-nagata Pasa wihara apare ma [*wita*].

"The most excellent cave caused to be made by the daughter of King Nága and Abhí Anurudhí, wife of King Uttiya, and King Uttiya, for

* Vol. II., p. 408, "Some Early Inscriptions in Ceylon."

the Assembly of the four quarters, present and absent. Constructed to the west of the Pácína Wihára."

Another inscription at a lower cave is :—

Gapati tapasa Sumana Kulasa leṇe sagasa dine agata anagata catu disa sagasa Pasu wisaraye.

"The cave of the family of the ascetic Sumana, the householder, is given to the Community, to the Community of the four quarters, present and absent, at the Pácína tank."

There is thus no doubt regarding the name of the place. According to the *Mahâwaṇsa*, the Pácína Wihára was constructed by King Dewánámpiya Tissa; its ruins have not been identified. The two kings, Nága and Uttiya, are of course the two brothers of that monarch, the former one being the Mahá-nága, who reigned at Mágama in the Southern Province. The first inscription undoubtedly dates from the second half of the third century B.C.

Another inscription, for which subsequent searches were fruitless, was discovered at the same place by Mr. S. Haughton, C.C.S., a few years ago. Unfortunately the copy is too imperfect for a full translation to be made, but it contains special reference to the *Ugahapati patama Sumana*, "The teacher, the supreme Sumana," who is most probably the celebrated Sumana who accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon.

Another inscription runs :—*Parumaka Uti puta Cuḍanagasa leṇe*, "The cave of Cuḍanága, son of the Parumaka Uttiya." This appears not unlikely to belong to a son of King Uttiya, but he is not mentioned in the *Mahâwaṇsa*.

Another, copied by Mr. G. M. Fowler at Erupotána, is :—*Parumaka Ma...wa puta Abayasa leṇe sagayaniya* [*te*], "The cave of Abhaya, son of the Parumaka Ma (hási) wa, established for the Community." If the restoration of the two letters in the unfortunate blank space may be trusted, this may possibly belong to the eldest son of King Muṭasiwa, but there is no proof that such is the case.

I give one more inscription from the same place as the three first ones. It is found along the side of a flight of rock-cut steps up a steep ascent at the end of the largest hill, and it is the earliest instance of what is known in Ceylon as "*Perelibasa*."* It is impossible to exhibit the freaks of the carver in a bare transliteration. Some of the letters are reversed vertically, some laterally; while two syllables have the consonants transposed, and a few letters are correctly cut. Its transliteration has been unusually difficult, because many of the early

* Irregularly cut inscriptions have been also noticed in the North-Central Province and the Kégalla District of the Province of Sabaragamuwa.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

letters form other letters when reversed vertically or laterally. It is : *Mekaṇusapakusa witipagapiṇuwaḍameda.* Correcting the letters, transposing the consonants in *Sawi*, and then reading it backwards, it runs : *Dameḍawanupi gapati Siwa Kulasani-kame*, "The work of the family of the devout householder Siwa, beloved of the gods."

6. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lewis for his Paper, on a motion proposed by Mr. Joseph and seconded by the Hon. P. Rámanáthan. A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the Proceedings of the Meeting.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 1, 1894.

Present :

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G. | Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha.

Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on August 9, 1894.

2. Laid on the table a Paper by Mr. F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár, entitled "Notes on the Sports and Games of the Siṇhalese." Referred to the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie for his opinion.

Resolved (in view of Mr. Justice Lawrie's opinion),—That Mr. de Silva be thanked for his Paper, and be informed that the Council regret they cannot accept it.

3. Laid on the table a Paper by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, entitled "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája and Dr. Brito for report.

4. Laid on the table in manuscript a Classified Catalogue of the Society's Library, and considered the question whether it should be printed in its present form.

After some discussion, on a motion proposed by Mr. Harward, it was resolved,—That a new Catalogue be drawn up on the lines of the Museum Catalogue, and be submitted to the Council, after the approximate cost of printing has been ascertained.

5. Read a letter from Mr. D. W. Ferguson, dated July 27, 1894, consenting to act as the Society's Delegate at the Xe Congrés International des Orientalistes.

6. Resolved,—That a complete set of the "Ceylon Literary Register" be procured for the Library, and that the "Monthly Literary Register" be subscribed for, and the back numbers obtained.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 20, 1894.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie, in the Chair.

Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha. | The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.
Dr. W. G. Vandort. |

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on October 1, 1894.

2. Laid on the table the following Papers, viz. :—

(1) A Paper by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, entitled "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets," referred to Mr. E. S. W. Sénathi Rája and Dr. P. Brito for their opinions.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted as one to be read, and that the matter of printing the two Tamil poems referred to in the Paper, as suggested by Mr. Sénathi Rája and Dr. Brito, be left for future consideration.

(2) A Paper by Mr. C. M. Fernando on "The Music of the Mechanics of Ceylon."

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted, and Mr. Fernando be thanked for forwarding it, and informed that it will be read at a Meeting of the Society.

(3) A Paper by Mr. T. B. Pohath, entitled "Archæological Sketch of Gampola."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha and the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie for their opinions.

3. Laid on the table a list of books suggested for purchase by Mr. F. H. de Vos. Passed.

4. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., inquiring whether there is any objection to his reprinting in his "Manual of the Waṉṉi" his Paper on "The Archæology of the Waṉṉi," read before the Society.

Resolved,—That the permission applied for be granted.

5. Read a letter from Mr. J. F. W. Gore to Honorary Secretary, dated October 22, 1894, notifying that the *Index* to the Journals and Proceedings of the Society had been completed.

Resolved,—That pending a more suitable expression of thanks to be given hereafter, and to be moved at a General Meeting, Mr. Gore be informed that the Council tenders its thanks to him for the valuable services rendered to the Society by the compilation of the *Index*, and for the great amount of personal trouble taken by him in the compilation of the work.

6. Resolved,—That a Meeting of the Society be held on the 8th or 15th proximo, and that the following be the business for the Meeting, subject to any alterations that may be made by the Secretaries :—

(1) To read (*a*) A Paper on "The Music of the Mechanics of Ceylon," by Mr. C. M. Fernando.
(*b*) A Paper entitled "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets," by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.

(2) To pass a vote of thanks to Mr. J. F. W. Gore for compiling an *Index* to the Journals and Proceedings of the Society, and to move, on the nomination of the Council, under rules 7 and 9, that he be elected a Honorary Member of the Society.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 8, 1894.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Arthur E. Havelock, K.C.M.G., &c., Patron, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam.
Mr. W. N. S. Aserappa.
Mr. J. H. Barber.
Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.
Mr. C. Drieberg.
Mr. P. Freüdenberg.
Dr. H. M. Fernando.
Mr. J. Ferguson.
Mr. C. M. Fernando.
Mr. R. W. Ievers.
Dr. W. G. Keith.
Mr. P. Kehelpannala.
Mr. S. G. Lee.
Mr. Walter Pereira.
Hon. T. B. Panabokke.
Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Dr. W. H. de Silva.
Mr. W. A. de Silva.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors :—Sixteen gentlemen and fourteen ladies.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on September 8, 1894.

2. The Hon. J. A. SWETTENHAM moved "That a vote of thanks be passed to Mr. J. F. W. Gore for compiling an *Index* to the Journals and Proceedings of the Society, and that he be elected an Honorary Life Member, under Rules 7 and 9." He said that the Society was placed under a deep debt of obligation to Mr. Gore for having compiled the Index referred to,—the result of great personal trouble and patience, and a work of great utility to those interested in Asiatic research. He thought the least the Society could do in return was to express its sense of thankfulness by making him an Honorary Member of the Society for life, which he had much pleasure in moving.

Mr. J. FERGUSON, in seconding the above resolution, bore testimony to the high character of Mr. Gore's work. He said that from his experience in the publication of statistical information he felt qualified to fully appreciate the usefulness of the Index which had been laid on the table, and a specimen copy of which he held in his hand. Dr. Johnson said, that knowledge was of two kinds: we either know a subject ourselves or we know where to get information about it. Mr. Gore had made it easy to all using his Index to get at the stores of learning and useful compilation in the Society's volumes.

Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM inquired whether it was competent for the Society, in view of Rule 1, which defined its objects, to pass the motion. Undoubtedly Mr. Gore had rendered valuable service to the Society, but the point upon which he wished the ruling of the Chair depended entirely on the interpretation of the Rule referred to.

The Hon. Mr. SWETTENHAM, in reply, pointed out that the motion was strictly within Rule 1. Mr. Gore had rendered distinguished services to the Society of the kind contemplated in Rules 7 and 9, and they were calculated to promote the objects enumerated under Rule 1.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR had no hesitation in ruling that the motion was in order, and had much pleasure in putting it before the Meeting. The motion was carried with acclamation, and Mr. Gore was elected an Honorary Life Member.

3. The following Paper was read by the Author :—





Dancing the Caffrina.

THE MUSIC OF CEYLON.

By Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.CANTAB., Advocate.

Introductory.

Nearly forty years ago Mr. Louis Nell wrote a Paper, which was read before this Society, by way of an introduction to an investigation of Siṇhalese music. This I believe to be the only attempt that has yet been made to inquire into the music of Ceylon.* My endeavour is in this and subsequent Papers to do what I can to elucidate a subject which is yet an unexplored region to those interested in Ceylon and its people. It is my purpose to commence with observations on the music of the Mechanics, or the Ceylon Portuguese, to be followed by Papers dealing with the vocal music now in vogue among the Siṇhalese: their sacred music, the description and use of Siṇhalese musical instruments, and the cultivation of music as a fine art among the ancient Siṇhalese.

I.—The Music of the Mechanics of Ceylon.

This Paper consists of a collection of the national tunes of the Mechanics of Ceylon reduced into European notation, prefaced by a few discursive remarks on their ethnology and habits and customs, such as would be of interest to the student of their national music, of which tradition has hitherto been the only vehicle.

The Mechanics form a distinct portion of the inhabitants of Ceylon, connected by ties of kindred, speaking a common language, and possessing habits and customs as distinct as

* Except a short Paper written by me and published in the *Royal College Magazine* for July, 1883.

any other nationality in the Island. The name Mechanic, generally applied to them as a class, is derived from the fact that they are almost exclusively devoted to the lower crafts of artisanship. They are usually shoemakers, tailors, or blacksmiths, and their conservatism is such that few, if hardly any, are known to have grown out of their ancestral callings.

Their race, as at present constituted, is an admixture of several nationalities, having for its nucleus the offspring of the Portuguese settlers of maritime Ceylon. These Portuguese were wont to take to themselves native wives, and upon the Dutch occupation left behind them a considerable number of descendants. These latter, on account of their faith, to which they rigidly adhered in spite of the persecutions of their conquerors, were debarred from holding office or occupying positions of trust or honour under the Dutch *regime*, and were consequently obliged to seek refuge in the mechanical arts. Compelled by the circumstances of their callings to move among the lower classes of the native population, they frequently contracted marriages among the latter, and absorbed into their language a host of Sinhalese and Tamil words.

It is also more than probable that the Portuguese descendants freely associated with the soldiers of the Caffir regiments employed by the Dutch, from whom much of the national music of the Ceylon Mechanic seems to have originated. Of this there is ample evidence. I need only refer to the word "Cafferina," and to the tune No. 4 in the collection, viz., "Velinda Mazambicu," which clearly has reference to the Island of Mozambique. Bertolacci, writing in 1817, calls it "a very remarkable fact that of about 9,000 Caffirs at different times imported into Ceylon by the Dutch Government, no descendants are remaining—at least they are in no way to be distinguished among the present inhabitants." * These Caffirs were doubtless absorbed among the

* Bertolacci's *Ceylon*, 1817, p. 45.

Mechanics of Ceylon. Their language, as now spoken, is as different from Portuguese as English is from Anglo-Saxon. "There is still a large body of inhabitants at Colombo and the other settlements in Ceylon known by the name of Portuguese. A corruption of their original language is still spoken all over the sea coasts. It is very easily learned, and proves of very great utility to a traveller who has not time to study the more difficult dialects of the natives."*

There can be no doubt that the present enfeebled and apathetic condition of this race is largely the result of the religious persecution it suffered at the hands of the Dutch for over a century and a half. In the face of numerous *plakaats* forbidding the harbouring of priests, the solemnization of Catholic marriages, attendance at religious service, and the open observation of the practices of their faith, the Portuguese descendants stood steadfastly by their ancient creed.

A colony of Portuguese, unable to endure the severities of the Dutch Government, fled to the village of Vahakóṭṭé, hidden among the mountains of the Mátalé District, where their descendants exist as a community at the present day, professing the Roman Catholic faith, and still preserving, in spite of their surroundings, a few at least of the quaint customs of their forefathers. Writing on this subject Tennant observes :—

> So effectually does this course of persecution and oppression appear to have crushed the spirit and benumbed the ambition of those subjected to its influences, that even at the present day, under a liberal government, and after a lapse of nearly a century and a half, it is rarely that a Portuguese Burgher aspires to rise above the position to which his forefathers had been reduced by the penal laws of the Dutch.†

The music of the Mechanics constitutes a distinct form of national music, and is not characterized by any close resemblance to the national songs of Portugal. It seems to have germinated and grown amongst themselves in their adopted

* Cordiner's *Ceylon*, 1807, vol. I., p. 89.

† Tennant's *Christianity in Ceylon*, 1850, p. 72.

home, in the same way that the Christy Minstrel songs originated among the Negroes of America; and just as the latter express in themselves the characteristics of the American Negro, his broad, if somewhat coarse, humour; his simple, almost childish, pathos, and his intense love of family life—so the "Cafferina" and the "Chikothi" of the Mechanic display the peculiarities of the Mechanic character, improvidence, at times amounting to recklessness, and the pursuit of pleasure at all costs.

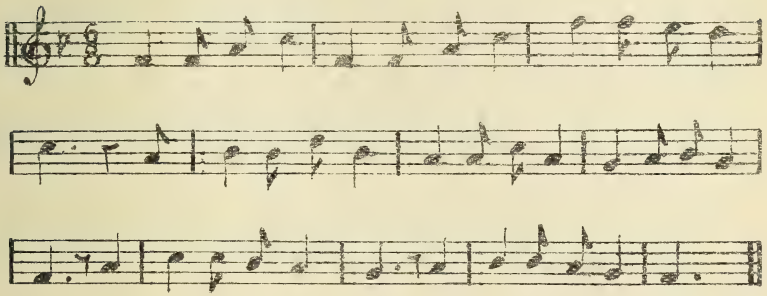
The words "Cafferina" (its name denotes its Caffir origin) and "Chikothi" are often synonymously used. But the difference is marked between these two species of tunes. The "Chikothi" is always slow and stately, while the "Cafferina" is faster and more boisterous, and is always in $\frac{6}{8}$ time, with a peculiar jerky movement, the last note in the bar being generally a crotchet.

The words of the "Cafferina" and "Chikothi" are frequently improvized as they are sung, although there are stock words to every air. The art of improvization is cultivated by the Mechanic even more assiduously than by the Nigger minstrel who haunts the regatta at Henley. In the later stages of an evening party, when the fumes of beverages stronger than ginger-beer have dispelled the respect for the ordinary amenities of mechanic life, this art of improvization becomes sometimes a source of offence, and leads to dire results.
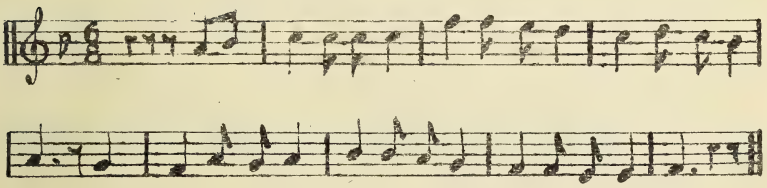
I give the words of two of the best known "Cafferinas," with a literal translation of them by way of specimen. In the first, a Mechanic youth is supposed to be addressing the mother of his Sinhalese lady-love. It is entitled "Cingalee Nona" (Tune No. 1):—

Cingalee Nona! Cingalee Nona!
Eu kere kasa,
Porta ninkere, orta ninkere,
Figa namas da.
Figa namas da, none,
Figa namas da.

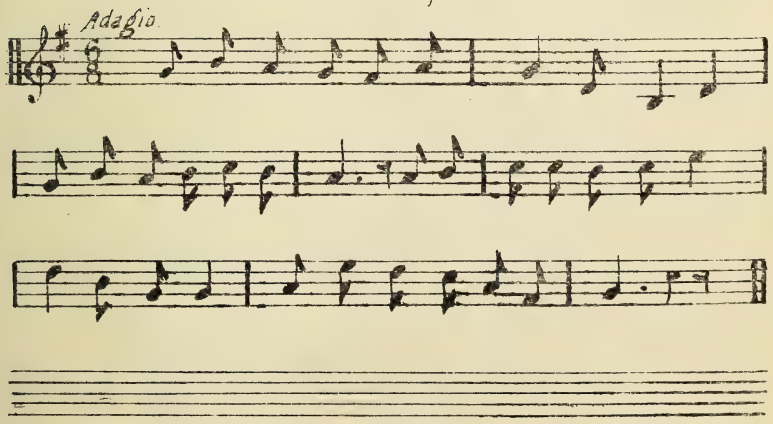
Singalee Nona № 1



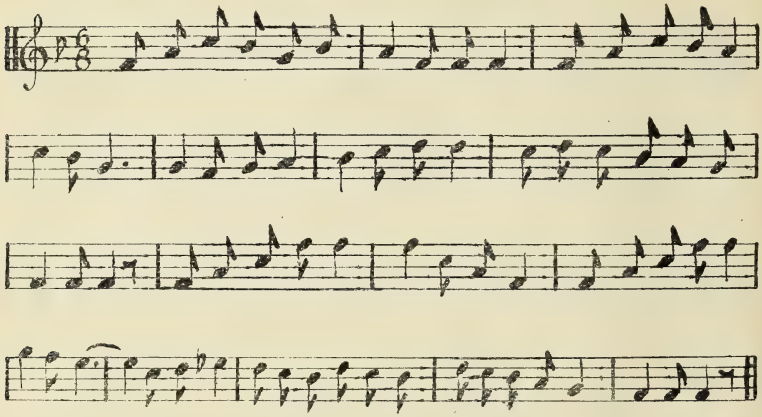
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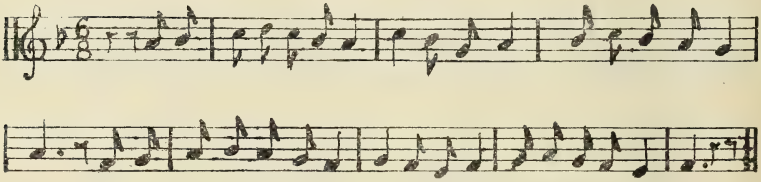


Bastiana № 3



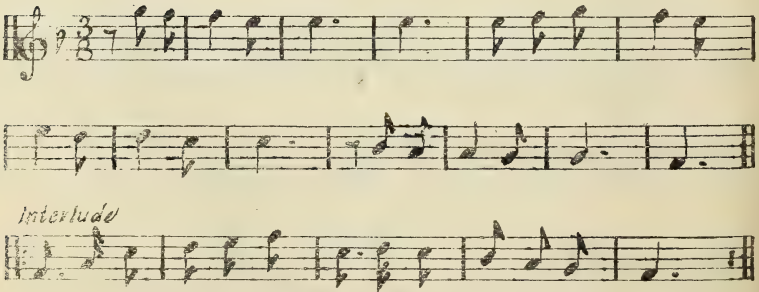
—— Velanda Mazambicu Nº 4 ——

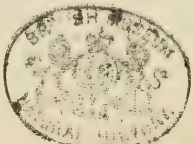


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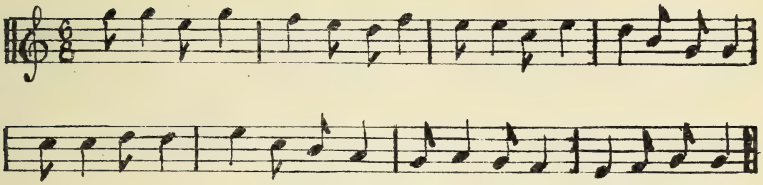


—— Chikothi Nº 6 ——

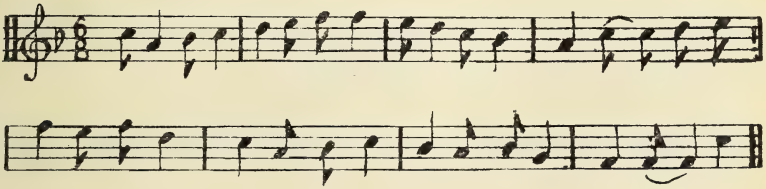




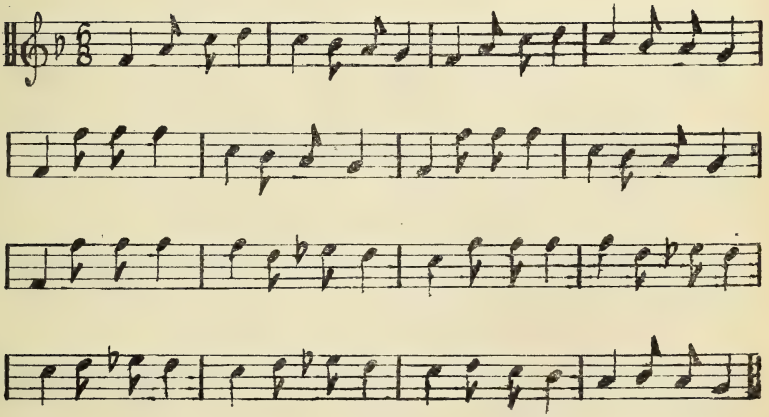
Amor Jaffoi Nº 7.

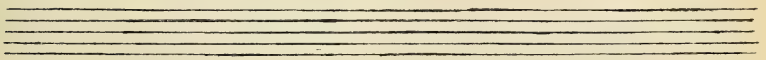


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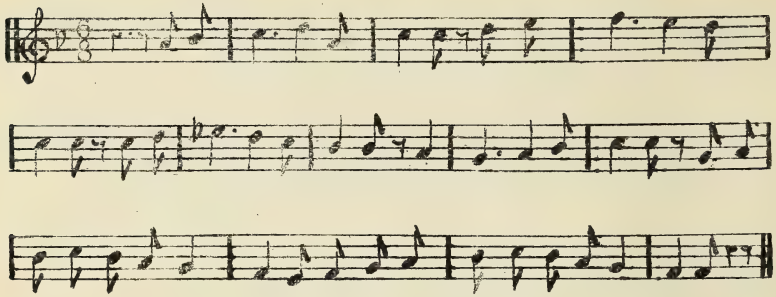


Caffri Nº 9.

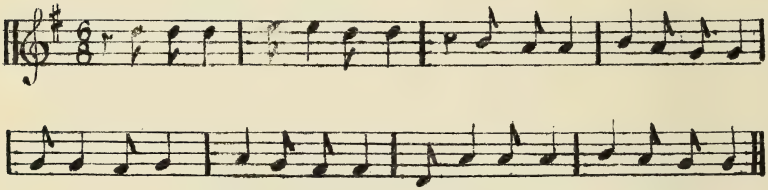




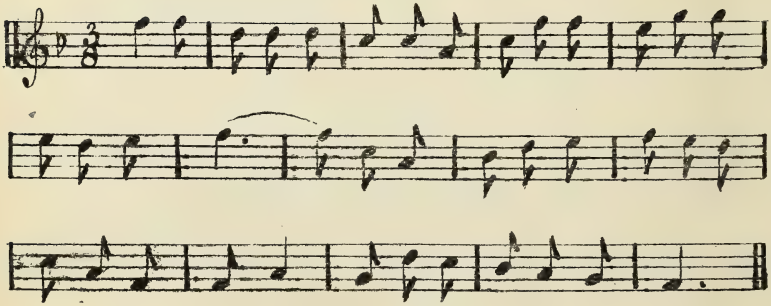
— Anala d'Oru. Nº 10. —
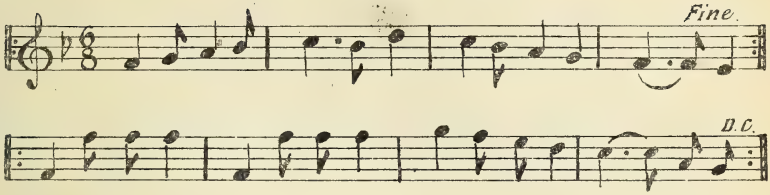


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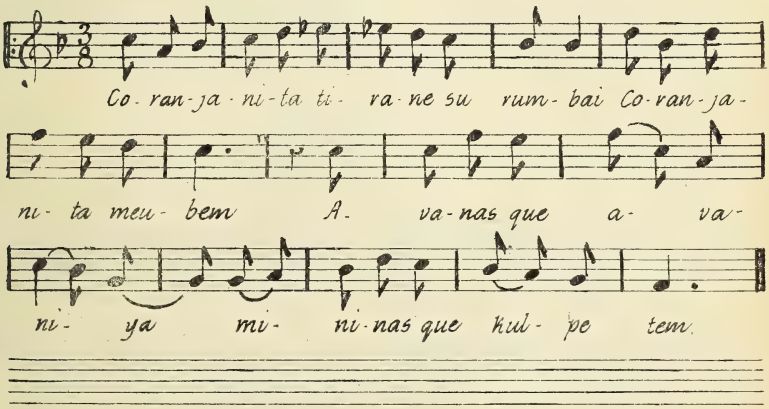


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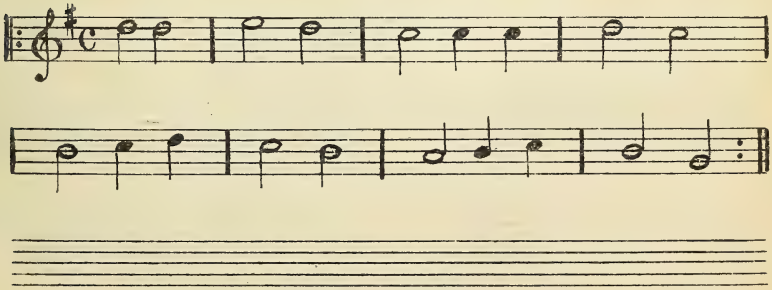
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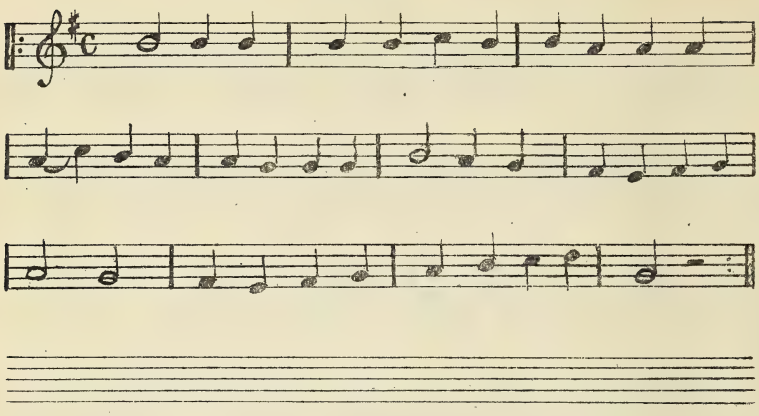
Coran Janita. Nº 14.



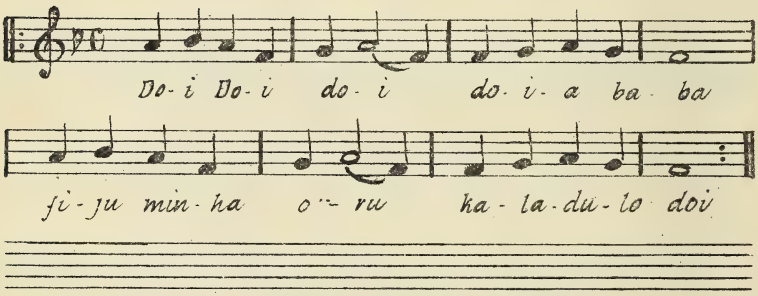
Chant. Pater Noster.



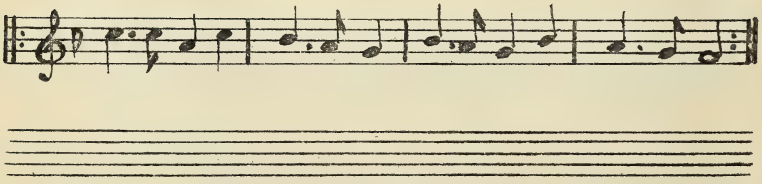
Chant. Ave Maria.



Lullaby



Lullaby



Siṉhalese lady! Siṉhalese lady!
I wish to marry,
Your house I want not, your lands I want not,
Only your daughter give.
Only your daughter give, lady,
Only your daughter give.

The following (Tune No. 7) is supposed to be sung by a spinster with a view to matrimony :—

Anala d'oru,
Setti peder juntu.
Quen kere anala,
Kasa minha juntu.

I've a ring all of gold,
With seven jewels set:
Want you that ring?—
Then wed me and get.

The "Chikothi" and "Cafferina" are not merely efforts at vocalization. They provide the occasion for dancing, which the Mechanic dearly loves. The dance is performed in couples, each consisting of a lady and a gentleman. Standing apart on opposite sides of the room they dance towards each other, following the music in rhythmic steps, and exchange old-fashioned courtesies when they meet in the middle of the room. Grotesque attitudes and alert movements are indulged in while dancing to the lively tunes of the "Cafferina." The slow measures of the "Chikothi" only call for stately and dignified steps. These dances are got up on very little provocation. A christening, a birthday, an anniversary of any kind, is sufficient excuse; and often on a moonlight night families unite to enjoy themselves at open-air picnics, known in Ceylon as *Appa Surei Partei*, to regale themselves on hot-baked hoppers and fresh-drawn toddy, and to foot it merrily to the soft notes of the *viaule* and the *banderinha*.

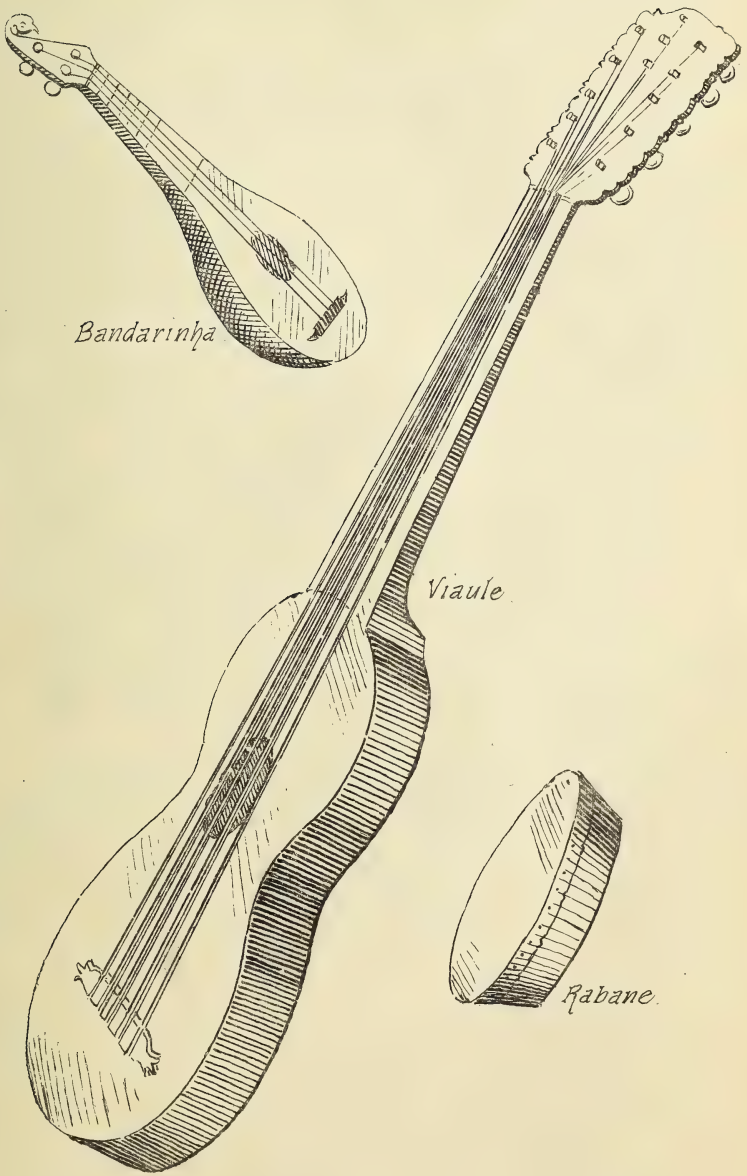
A curious feature in the religious services of the Mechanics is that their prayers are not merely read or recited, but are actually chanted—a custom in which they have been copied

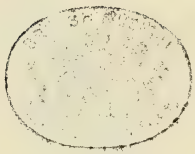
by their Siṇhalese and Tamil co-religionists. I have included in this collection the two best-known chants, the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*. The latter is extremely tuneful and devotional. Having gradually lost their own priests on account of the prohibition by the Dutch Government of the education of Roman Catholics for the ministry, the Portuguese settlers of Ceylon were for a long time ministered to by priests surreptitiously brought over from Goa. It is therefore probable that many of the Portuguese chants now in use were derived from the Goanese, who themselves are of Indo-Portuguese origin, and among whom there has sprung up a distinct form of chant, known as the Goanese chant.

The lullabies in use among Ceylonese mothers and ayahs are of Portuguese origin. The word "*doiya*" (traceable to the Latin *dormio* and Portuguese *dormir*) is used to mean sleep when addressing infants. I have included in the collection two of the commonest lullabies. They have lulled to sleep many a Ceylon baby.

The instruments in use among the Mechanics are the violin, the *viaule* or tenor violin, the mandoline (which they call the *banderinha*), the guitar, and a small kind of tom-tom known as the *rabána*. The mandoline and the guitar are fast becoming obsolete. The Mechanics are clever executants in respect of their own music, but when they attempt European dance music they are less happy, and succeed only in travestying the original compositions.

With the gradual dissemination of Western ideas and habits of life, with the spread of English education, and with the contempt which it unhappily engenders in certain minds for the institutions of this country, there are many who fear that the Mechanic of the future will resemble only in name his ancestor of the present day. But it is to be hoped that the innate conservatism of the Ceylon Portuguese, which has preserved them as a separate community through the troubles and hardships of the Dutch period, and which is still so characteristic of them, will help, not only to maintain,


Bandarinha
Viaule
Rabane



but to further develop their national music, of which, unlike some elements in their racial character, they have no need to be ashamed.

NOTE.—The Author, after the reading of his Paper, introduced to the notice of the Meeting an orchestra of Ceylon Portuguese whom he had got together for the occasion. They consisted of two violins, two guitars, a tambourine, triangle, and a *banderinha*. Mr. Fernando said he regretted that the *viaule*, an instrument of the guitar shape, consisting of thirteen strings, was not represented ; the only person able to play this instrument just now is old and decrepit, and was unable to be present. There was a specimen of the instrument in the Colombo Museum, which unfortunately could not be got in time to be exhibited. To enforce his contention that he was dealing with music of a European character, and that it was amenable to European notation, he would himself accompany the orchestra on the piano. The orchestra under Mr. Fernando's direction played the following :—

(1) *Cingalee Nona* (Tune No. 1 in the collection, and perhaps the most popular of Mechanic airs).

(2) *Tres pe* (Tune No. 12), which means three feet, so called from the marked character of the triple time in which the tune runs.

(3) *Anala d'Oru* (Tune No. 10), exhibiting an instance of the use of the interval technically known as the dominant seventh.

(4) *Velinda Mazambiqu* (Tune No. 4). Undoubtedly of Caffir origin, judging from the name and style of the air.

(5) *Coran Janita* (Tune No. 14). One of the oldest of their tunes.

(6) *Caffri* (Tune No. 9). A *Cafferina* with a very fast movement.

At the conclusion of the music HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR said:—"Sorry as we are at the termination of Mr. Fernando's interesting Paper, and the very pleasant music and the admirable accompaniment of Mr. Fernando on the piano, we must pass on to the next business."

4. The Hon. P. COOMÁRASWÁMY read the following Paper :—

A HALF-HOUR WITH TWO ANCIENT TAMIL POETS.

By the Hon. P. COOMÁRASWÁMY.

THE Paper which I propose to read to-night consists of a translation, somewhat free and short, of two poems : one by *Kapilar* and the other by *Muḍattámakkaṇṇiyár*, both of which form part of the collection known as *Pattupáṭṭu*, or the *Ten Poems*.

Kurinjippáṭṭu, by some said to be known also as *Perunkurinji*, was composed, according to the famous commentator Naccinárkkiniyár, in order to complete the Tamil education of a certain *Árya* prince by name *Pirakattan*,* who, judging from the poem, was perhaps the ruler of a mountainous district. The poem consists of 260 lines, and makes mention of many different trees, shrubs, and flowers, such as seldom occur in other Tamil poems. In this translation I have omitted them, as those who seek information on the subject can easily consult the original. The author of this poem was *Kapilar*, the brother of *Tiruvalḷuvar*, whose *Kural* is well known. *Kapilar's* age must be fixed prior to the second half of the second century of the Christian era. At page 149, vol. XIII., 1894, of this Society's Journal, my statement that *Kapilar* and *Paraṇar* were contemporaries, and that *Paraṇar* received presents from the *Chera* king *Senkuṭṭuvan*, whom *Gaja Báhu I.* of Ceylon visited, will be found. This visit took place between 113 and 135 of the year of Christ, as that was the period of the reign of the latter monarch, according to the list of kings given in p. iv. of Wijesiṇha Mudaliyár's edition of the *Maháwaṇsa*.

* I give this name as it is spelt in Tamil, as I am not certain what the Sanskrit equivalent is: query *Prahasta*.

Porunarāṭṭuppaḍai, the second of the poems which I have translated, consists of 248 lines, and is sung in praise of the great Chóla king known to history as *Karikála*. It purports to describe the experiences of a musician who was the recipient of that king's liberality. Many matters of interest with regard to the food, mode of life, manners and customs, poets and musicians of the Tamils of ancient times appear in this poem. *Karikála's* age, for the following reasons, was not later than the first century of the Christian era.

(1) The celebrated Tamil poem *Kalingattupparaṇi* was written by its author in praise of his patron, king *Ko-rája-Kesari-varman*,* alias *Kulottunga Chola Deva I.*, of the *Chálukya* dynasty, who reigned from 1063* to 1112 after Christ. The date of this poem has been correctly fixed as not long after 1081,* which date is also accepted by other Tamil scholars. In this poem *Karikála* is mentioned as an ancestor of *Kulottunga Chola Deva I.*, as having gone to Northern India on a tour of conquest, and as having accepted the poem *Paṭṭinappálai* (which also forms part of the collection *Pattupáṭṭu*, already referred to), and paid the author of that poem one million six hundred thousand pieces of the gold coin called *pon*. Many of these and other particulars regarding *Karikála* are mentioned in other Tamil works, such as the *Periyapuráṇam*,† *Chilappadikáram*, &c. So that according to the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, *Karikála's* age was much anterior to 1063, when his so-called descendant *Kulottunga Chola Deva I.* began his reign.

(2) In volume II., part II., page 153, of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Dr. Hultzsch says : "In the two only copper-plate grants which contain a genealogical account of the Chóla dynasty the same three kings"—viz., *Karikála*,

* *Cf. Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX., pp. 329 *et seq.*; vol. XX., pp. 278 *et seq.* *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II., part I., p. 230; Mr. P. Sundarampillai's valuable Paper, "The Age of Tirujnána Sambandha."

† Written *circa* twelfth century. *Cf.* Mr. Sundarampillai's Paper on "The Age of Tirujnána Sambandha."

Ko-chenganṇan, and *Ko-killi*—"are mentioned as ancestors of *Vijayálaya*, the grandfather of *Parántaka*." Vijayálaya reigned about the year 875.* We therefore are enabled to take a further step and say that *Karikála's* reign was long prior to 875 *anno Christi*.

(3) The *Chilappadikáram*, a Tamil poem of the second century† (and it matters little for purposes of this inquiry whether it is of the second century or later by a few hundred years), which records many notable events of the first and second centuries, makes mention of this great prince in different places. It was from him that *Mádhavi*, the dancing girl, on completion of her studies, after due exhibition of her ability, received the customary first prize granted to experts in music and dance. And this event happened—if the time ranging over the period covered by the several events chronicled in this poem be properly computed—many years prior to the visit of *Gaja Báhu I.* to India.‡ The ancient commentator of *Chilappadikáram*, *Aḍiyárkkunallár*, and the still more ancient commentary known as the *Arumpadavurai*, state that *Karikála* was reigning over the Chóla country at the beginning of *Kovalan* and *Kannakai's* career, and that this prince's daughter, *Natcoṇai*, was the wife of Seralátan and mother of Senkuṭṭuvan, friend of Gaja Báhu I. I would call particular attention to the following among other passages in the *Chilappadikáram* which refer to *Karikála*, his daughter's husband *Seralátan*, and her son *Senkuṭṭuvan* :—

(1) பெரும்புகழ்க்கரிகால்வளவன்றண்பதங்கொள்ளுந் தலைகாட் போல.

* *Cf. South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I., p. 112. By studying the list given in this page, and computing backwards from the reign of Rája-rája (Sáka 919 to 930 = 997 to 1008 of the Christian era), it will be found that Vijayálaya's reign will be about the year I have mentioned above.

† *Cf.* my Paper *Chilappadikáram*, Journal No. 44, vol. XIII., 1893, of this Society ; also Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha's Paper, "Which Gaja Báhu visited India?" read in September, 1894; and the notes of discussion on that Paper.

‡ The visit was between 113 and 135 of the Christian era.

(2) மன்னன் கரிகால்வளவன்மகள் வஞ்சிக்கோன் றன்னேப்புனல் கொள்ளத்தான்புனலின் பின்சென்று கன்னவிழ்ளாயோவென்ன.

(3) உலகாண்ட சேரலாதற்குத் திகழொளி ஞாயிற்றுச்சோழன் மகளீன்ற மைந்தன் செங்குட்டுவன்.

Paraṇar, who addressed the fifth *pattu* of the *Paditṭup-pattu** to the Chera king *Senkuṭṭuvan*, and, as I have said before, received presents from him, calls him the son of *Seralátan* by the daughter of Chola :—

குடவர் கோமானெடுஞ் சேரலாதற்குச் சோழன் மணக்கிளியீன்ற மகன்.....செங்குட்டுவன்.

And in the *Manimekhalai*, a poem written by *Kúlaváṇikan Sittalai Sáttanár*, a contemporary of *Senkuṭṭuvan*, *Karikála* is spoken of as already dead :—

மன்னன் கரிகால்வளவனீங்கியநாளின்னகர்போல்வதோரியல்பின தாகி.

The third step in this inquiry then shows that *Karikála* was the maternal grandfather of *Ṣenkuṭṭuvan*, who, I had almost forgotten to say, is said to have occupied his throne fifty years before Gaja Báhu visited him.

It is thus shown on the authority of *Kalingattupparaṇi* that *Karikála* was the alleged ancestor of *Kulottunga Chola Deva*, whose reign began in 1063. It is further shown, on the authority of Dr. Hultzsch, that he was an ancestor of *Vijayálaya*, who reigned *circa* 875. And lastly, on the authority of the poems, poets, and commentators above cited, that he was the maternal grandfather of *Senkuṭṭuvan*, contemporary of that Gaja Báhu who reigned in Ceylon from 113–135.

It may therefore be safely concluded that *Karikála*, one of the greatest of the Chóla kings, lived prior to the second century of the Christian era, and that the poem *Porunarát-ṭuppaḍai*, addressed to him by *Muḍattámakkanniyár*, belongs to the same period.†

* A manuscript copy of which I have the pleasure of possessing.

† From internal evidence, such as the language, structure, &c., of the poem, it can also be shown that it is very ancient.

These two poems which I have now translated are a fair sample of the short poems which were in vogue nearly two thousand years ago in Tamil-land, and display great powers of observation, and are well worth careful study by students of Tamil literature. My translation can give no adequate idea of the rhythm and the terseness and felicity of expression of the originals; for, after all, the best prose translation (which mine does not pretend to be) of a poem can only "tell the story without the song."

I.—KURINJIPPÁṬṬU.

Mayest thou prosper, mother! Pray, hear me with patience.

My lady, whose brilliant brow, soft hair, and lustrous body were pre-eminent among women, is over-borne by a grief that no medicine can cure,—so painful that I have till now kept its cause from you.

Seeing her beauty fade, and her limbs waste; seeing too that others have noticed her bracelets slipping off her wrists, and that the desire for solitude is daily growing upon her, then tossed in mind, not knowing the cause, thou didst seek the help of soothsayers.

Learning from them that her condition was due to the malignant *devas*,* prayers with incense and flowers didst thou offer, and yet her health hath improved not, and thou art still in sorrow, much perplexed.

Jewels made of gold and set with pearls and rubies, lost or tarnished, may yet be replaced, but when appropriate action, loftiness of purpose, and the desire to act in conformity with the prescribed modes of social life fail, the *wise* declare that even the *Devaṛishis*† have no power to prevent the consequences.

Transgressing the rare restraints placed by her father—possessor of stately chariots—forgetful of the duty to parents and elders, which teacheth us to wait until they choose for us husbands, she hath chosen for herself a lord. If I inform thee, my mother, that this form of marriage, called *gándharvam*, is sanctioned of old as consistent with chastity and modesty, shall I deserve blame? Certainly not. Praise, I think, will be my due.

Thy daughter, unable to bear the distress of a concealed love, timid-eyed, bereft of energy, and in bitter anguish, is thus resolved :—

* *Devas*, spirits. † *Devaṛishi*, a saint of the celestial class.

. Ever shall I remain faithful to my lord. Such shall be my constant duty. Even if the gods grant not that in this life I become his wedded wife, we shall surely, when death ends my sorrows, come together in the next.

Thus she remaineth weeping and wailing, helpless. Through fear of thee and concern for her, I too am overwhelmed with grief, even as the *wise* who seek to restore peace between two great but passion-borne monarchs.

The usual form of marriage solemnized after the moral qualities of both spouses have been previously ascertained and weighed, begetteth unto them unbroken happiness, and unto their kith and kin friendship and help; but the *gándharva* mode, though rare of occurrence and determined upon in secret, unknown to parents and without previous consultation with any one, is also sanctioned for the salvation of the soul. Such a marriage having already taken place, I have resolved to inform thee. Hear my story and be not angry.

One day thou didst say unto us, "Like unto the elephant's trunk raised to despoil the tall bamboos of their seed, the millet-stalks in our fields, their gray heads bent with the weight of heavy ears, are swarming with parrots, eager for the corn. Go ye and drive them away, and return when the day has ended." Thither we went, and, scrambling up the pretty ladder made of canes brought from hill-sides, seated ourselves on the platform built by forest rangers on a tall tree, and took up *talal** and *tattai*† and *kulir*‡ in our hands, and drove the birds, and remained there until the noonday sun blazed fiercely hot.

The heavy clouds having drunk the waters of the sea so as even to diminish its quantity, with distant thunders resembling the roll of drums gently beaten, causing birds to seek their roosts, overspread the sky. Lightnings flashed like unto the spear wielded by the *war-god*§ against the *asuras*. The winds rose and drove the clouds widely, until, trembling and confused, they sent the rains down in torrents on the hills. From the mountains waterfalls came bounding down in foam like unto white lawn,‖

* *Talal* is described by *Naccinárkkiniyár* as "கையாற் சுற்றினகாலத்துத் தன்னிடத்துப் பிறக்குமோசையாற் கிளிமுதலியவற்றை ஓட்டுங்கருவி, கவணெண்பாருமுளர்."

† *Tattai* he says is "மூங்கிலைக் கண்ணுக்கண்ணுள்ளாக நறுக்கிப் பலவாகப்பிளந்து ஓசையுண்டாக ஒன்றிலே தட்டுங்கருவி."

‡ *Kulir*: "இவைப்பால்வடிசார் கிளிகடிகருவி."

§ *Muruga* or *Skanda*, the Hindú god of war. *Asuras*, the enemies of the *devas* or celestials.

‖ *Cf.* "Slow dropping veils of thinnest lawn."—Tennyson's "Lotos-eaters."

and begat in our minds a resistless desire to go into the limpid stream. We sported therein a long while, singing such songs as pleased us. Then wringing the water from our plaited locks, which rolled down our golden backs like glistening sapphires, we, with flushed eyes, dried ourselves and culled *kándal*,* *aniccam*, and other fragrant flowers. We heaped them on a rain-washed stone, broad and lying alongside the stream, and weaving garlands wound them round our locks and waists and rested under the cool shade of an *asoka*† tree, bearing fire-like flowers and tender sprouts. Now and again by word and song we frightened the green parrots away from the corn fields.

Then appeared before us a mountain chief. His dark blue locks, well anointed and made fragrant with the smoke of the *akil*,‡ were interwoven with many coloured flowers from hill and meadow, tree and fountain. From one ear hung down to his shoulders the purple leaves of the *asoka;* sweet-smelling garlands of flowers mingling with brilliant jewellery, heirlooms in his family, adorned his broad chest painted with *candana*;§ his strong arms, braceleted, held a many-hued bow and select arrows. His loins were tightly girt with cloth, and at every step the martial tinkle of his *virakkalal*‖ resounded. His fierce hounds, excited by sport, resembling young warriors after a successful battle with a mighty host, ran towards us yelping and baying.

Startled, we essayed to leave our resting-place, but he broke a leafy bough from a tree and drove the baying hounds this way and that. He approached us with the gait of a proud bull walking up to his newly-found mate when he had vanquished his rivals in a hard-fought fight. He spoke to us some pleasing words: "Lovely-eyed maidens," said he, "the game I followed is lost; did it come your way?" Though pleased, we returned him no answer. "If you saw not the game, ladies, will it be an offence to speak to me?" said he, and waited for a reply.

In the meanwhile, drunk with the well fermented fragrant wine handed to them by gazelle-eyed wives living in huts thatched with straw, the watchers became neglectful of the corn-fields until the alarm was raised that the corn stalks were trodden down by an elephant. Fired with anger, quickly stringing their bows, they struck the elephant with

* Here mention is made of various kinds of flowers, &c., which I omit.

† *Asoka: Jonesia asoka*, Roxb.

‡ *Akil* (Sans. *aguru*), the fragrant aloe wood and tree (*Aquiluria agallocha*).

§ *Candana*, here a paste made from the *Santalum album*.

‖ *Virakkalal*, a warrior's ankle rings.

swift arrows and drove him away. Trumpeting forth like peals of thunder in times of rain, rooting up forest trees and striking the ground with his strong rough trunk, the fierce animal came rushing towards us even as the god* of death. Knowing no other place of safety, filled with fear and forgetting the restraints of our sex, we ran with trembling limbs to him, the chief. Forthwith he shot his feathered arrows and pierced the beautiful brow of the elephant. Blood overspread the animal's forehead in streams such as flow from goats sacrificed in the presence of women possessed of the god of war. The elephant turned and ran, and we, who had stood together, hand locked in hand like flowers pressed together in a thickly-woven garland of *kadambas*,† sank to the ground unable to stand.

Seeing our pitiful state, thus did the chief address thy daughter: "Noble lady, beauteous-haired, fear not; I will not leave thee." He lifted her up, and gently stroking her faultless forehead with his hand looked at me and smiled, desiring the favour of my help. Shame and modesty awakening in her mind, much did she strive to slip from his embrace, but he folded her yet stronger in his arms and prevented her. He,—the lord of fruitful country studded with mountains, capturer of maidens' hearts by his victories over enemies; he, whose city-gates ever stand open to all who seek food enriched with ghee,—awakened at last to the fact that she could be his only by the usual formal marriage. Then he called on the war-god, who dwelleth on lofty mountains, to witness that he would soon claim her for his wife. Thus assured we spent that day until sunset in mountain caves, the delight of *devas*;—our union being due to the wild elephant roaming in the forest full of flowers.

The many-rayed sun in his chariot drawn by seven steeds reached *Attagiri*,‡ when herds of deer assemble under trees; when cows, issuing from forests, call their calves and overspread the meadows; when the bent-beaked *aṇdril*,§ nestling in the inner folds of the palmirah leaf, summons his mate with notes like those of the horn; when the snake spits out his gem in order to illumine his path while searching for food; when shepherds from different quarters sound their sweet flutes; when *ámbal*‖ flowers open their petals; when Bráhmans perform their twilight ceremonies; when in

* *Yama*, the Hindú god of death.

† *Kadamba* (*Nauclea cadamba*), a tree with orange-coloured fragrant blossoms.

‡ *Attagiri* (Sans. *Astagiri*), the mountain behind which the sun is said to set.

§ *Aṇdril*, according to Winslow, is the nightingale of India.

‖ *Ámbal*, *Nymphæa alba* (Winslow).

houses abounding with wealth, women, adorned with sweet-smelling flowers, light their lamps and offer evening prayers; when forest-rangers in their *paran** reaching the sky kindle torches with friction-born fire; when black clouds overhang the hills; when wild animals make night resound with their cries, and when birds' notes become frequent. Then did the chief give his pledge: "I shall marry thee, who art decked with brilliant jewels, when thy relations apprise thy people and place thy right hand in mine. For a while yet shall I spend some days here in order to experience the great joy of conversing with thee in private. Be not alarmed." These and other gracious words he said to her, and accompanying us to the stream skirting our town, where the drums never cease to sound, he left us.

Since then has he, with the same love as he had at first, come every night. Often disturbed by the town-guards' approach, or the angry dog's bark, or your wakefulness, or the bright moon's rise, he would depart without meeting her; and even if we, imagining causes of fear when there were none, remained indoors and kept not the tryst, he would depart, never blaming us.

He is not one who has passed the time of youth; nor has vast wealth, which ever hath the tendency to breed evil habits, changed the good qualities due to his birth; he knoweth too that it is not fitting to meet a maiden at untimely hours, and yearneth to ask her hand in marriage in order that their united lives may be spent in the performance of the duties prescribed for the married. But thy daughter, thinking in the meantime of the perils of mountain paths, of bears and tigers hiding in caves, wild oxen and elephants crossing his way; thinking of thunderbolts overhead, demons and snakes roaming the forests, alligators swarming in streams, and robbers and boa constrictors; thinking of all these dangers nightly encountered by him on his way to meet her, is ever in dire distress, her eyes streaming with tears, and alas, she resembleth a tender blossom crushed by rainstorms fearful and heavy.

II.—PORUNARÁṬṬUPPAḌAI.

Oh, minstrel, ever careful to avoid the stale food served the day after the festival, and only present when the festival is still at its height!

When thy wife,—graceful as the peacock, gifted with learning, her hair soft as moss, her beautiful brow resembling the crescent moon, her lips red like the *ilavam's*† young leaves,

* *Paran*, a raised platform for watching fields.

† *Ilavam*, the silk cotton tree.

and eyes gentle and dark under brows arched like the death-dealing bow, her voice sweet as music, and ears shaped like the loop of the scissors* used in trimming the hair, neck slightly curved with modesty, her fingers like the *kándal*† growing on the summits of lofty mountains, and her small feet resembling in certain respects tongues‡ of hounds tired after a long run ;—when thy wife played on the yal, which,—with its two sides low and the middle raised like the impression left by the deer's hoof on wet ground, is usually covered with flame-hued skin and is possessed of pegs fashioned after the crab's eye, its strings rung by slender fingers tipped with nails white as the husked *tinai*,§—when thy wife touched the yal, lovely as a bride, with her fingers now fondly resting on, now smoothly gliding over, and now rapidly striking its strings, and sweetly sang the Devapáni,‖ then didst thou, with humble mind, offer prayers to the forest-gods that thy journey might be safe and successful. May thy life be long and prosperous, chief of all minstrels !

Even as the sight of the meeting in peace and amity of the three great kings, lords of victorious armies, Chera, Chóla, and Pándiya, is pleasant unto the world, so does thy song ever delight men's minds.

Perchance thou art puzzled and knowest not which of these two paths thou mayest take ; let thy choice be the right one. Thy luck has brought me hither, owing to the good deeds performed by thee in former births. I can direct thee to where wealth lies waiting.

* The words are மயிர்குறைகருவி மாண்கடையன்ன. Reference to scissors and their use in cutting hair occurs in several ancient poems, *e.g.*:—

ஆரமின்னவருங்குயந்தான்கனைந்
தோருமொண்டிறற்கத்திரிகைத்தொழி
னீரிற்செய்தடியத்துபு நீங்குனன்.—*Jivakacintámani*, Ilakkanaiyár Ilambakam, stanza 123.

எஃகிடைதொட்டகார்ககவின்பெற்ற வைம்பால்போல்.—*Kalittokai*, pálai 32.

† *Kándal* (*Gloriosa superba*).

‡ The words are வருந்துநாய்நாவிற்பெருந்தகுகீறடி. The comparison of the feet of women to the tongues of hounds occurs in other ancient poems also :—

மதந்தபுளுமலி நாவிநன்ன
துளங்கியன மெலிந்தகல்பொருகீறடி.—*Malaipaḍukadám.*

நாய்நாச்சிறடிமேல்.—*Jivakacintámani*, Mukti Ilambakam, stanza 96.

§ Tinai, *Panicum italicum* (Winslow).

‖ Devapáni, song in praise of the Deity or of any of the celestials (*Devas*). For some beautiful examples see *Naccinárkkiniyár's* commentary on the *Poruladhikáram* of *Tolkápiyam.*

If thy desire be to have done with poverty, which hitherto has been a heavy burden, rise without delay, thou, to whom the seven strings of the *yál* are ever obedient.

I, now rich, in days not long past like the hungry bird seeking the well-laden fruit-tree, went to the palace gates of him whom I shall ever sing; and, when without announcing my wants to the gate-keepers, I entered the palace, hunger and poverty methought were not. I drew near to him, and even before I could strike the *Udukkai*,* the skin of which by long beating is marked like the cobra's hood, and begin my song, he addressed me as one long known to him, and treated me with loving kindness, such that I thought begging was no disgrace. He caused me to be seated before him, and looked at me, his eyes beaming with affection and pleasure.

My garments, vile with dirt and sweat, bearing patches and stitches, and where nits and lice held sway, he caused to be removed, and clad me in silk soft as flowers. Handmaids, who by music, dance, and converse please him, poured out in golden cups intoxicating wine,† and I drank to my heart's content, until my sorrows and the fatigue caused by a long journey were forgotten. When I laid me down to rest, the trembling and unsteadiness of the limbs, I being heavy with wine, were all that inconvenienced me. At dawn, when awake, the bright change in my appearance was indeed so surprising. "Am I in a dream?" I exclaimed, but I soon satisfied myself that it was reality.

Hearing my pupils and followers singing his praises, he sent for us and desired us to draw near, and, when we saluted him in the mode usual on such occasions, he made us eat of the flesh of goat and other meat spitted and roasted, and drink plentifully of wine, until we could neither eat nor drink any more. Then sweetmeats of various forms and

* Udukkai, a small kind of drum held in one hand and struck by the other.

† In a poem by Naṭkírar of the same time as the above, addressed to a Pándiya, the prince is said to drink from golden cups of wine brought by the *Yavanar*, which may refer to Grecian or Italian wines.

யவனர் நன்கலந்தந்த தண்கமழ்தேறல்
பொன்செய் புனைகலத் தேந்தாளுந்
மொண்டொடிமகளிர் மடுப்பமகிழ்சிறந்
தாங்கினி தொழுகுமதி யோங்குவாண்மாற,—*Puranánúru*, 56.

O Pandiya of the Victorious Sword! daily delighting in fragrant wine brought by *Yavanas* in bottles and poured into golden cups by handmaids, may'st thou be (to your enemies) fierce as the sun and (to your subjects) gentle as the waxing moon. [Kalam here may mean bottles or ships.]

This term *Yavana* is very old; according to Monier Williams it occurs even in Manu X., 44; and in Uṇádis II., 74, meaning "foreigners," &c.

kinds were set before us, and after making us sit and eat again, he caused *Viraliyars* * to sing and dance to us. Several days having thus passed, "You must now eat of rice" he said, and a great feast of rice and curries and divers dishes cooked in milk were spread before us, and we ate until we were full unto the throat. Thus did we pass our days drinking and eating meat, when, like the ploughshare which hath often furrowed hard soil, our teeth became blunt, and food and wine were no more welcome.

Then one day said I gently, "O king, who hath no more enemies to conquer, give me leave to go back to my village." Looking at me reproachfully, "Art thou then departing from us so soon? Receive these," he said, and gave me elephants male and female and their calves shambling in gait, and chariots numerous, and garments and jewellery in abundance. With these I departed, bidding farewell to poverty for ever. Askest thou, "Who then was thus generous?"

Son of Ilanchetchenni, the Chóla of the ever victorious spear and war chariots innumerable; he, the great king, resembling *Muruga*, the angry god of war, was born entitled to kingship even from his mother's womb; wrester of countries from those princes who refused to acknowledge his sovereignty. As the sun rising from the ocean becomes brighter and more splendid when he advances to noon, so from his youth, ever increasing in power and fame, he, now mighty as *Yama*, god of death, bears on his shoulders the weight of a matchless empire. He is the great king on whose head the garland of *atti*† flowers is ever beauteous; he it was that in one battle in the now famous field of *Vennil*‡ dealt defeat to the *Chera* and *Pándiyan* kings.

If nearing the merciful presence of the great *Karikáṭchola*,§ thou dost worship his feet, his gentle eyes will drive poverty before thee for ever, and thou wilt be even like unto the calf which reeketh with satisfaction after full drink of her mother's abundant and sweet milk. He will clothe thee with silk and give thee to drink of wine in cups of gold. He will place on thy head golden lotus flowers, and to thy wife he will present gold and pearl necklaces and ornaments galore, and feast you all the days of your stay. When it is thy desire to depart, he will give thee a chariot inlaid with ivory, drawn by four milk-white steeds, many

* *Viraliyar*, women who sing and dance.

† *Atti* (*Ficus racemos*).

‡ *Venṇil*, a famous battle, where Karikáṭchola defeated the Chera king *Seràlátan*, is referred to by many contemporary poets.

§ The reason why this great king received this name—meaning black or burnt-foot Chóla—is explained in the stanza. See the last page of this Paper.

elephants, and villages well-watered and fertile. He will even go seven paces with thee, and, unwillingly parting, graciously say, "Give unto others of what thou hast now received, for riches and life last not long, and fame imperishable shall be thine, and men shall ever honour thee. Fare thee well."

Such the king, who hath long reigned over the Chóla kingdom, rich in paddy and groves of green cocoa palms, part of this broad earth on whose shores the black ocean breaks its waves with ceaseless roar ;* such he who, even when young, dispensed justice† to the satisfaction of the old ; whose sceptre keeps all straight in the blameless path of duty, whose long reign full of love and mercy is renowned throughout the world.

முச்சக்கரமு மளப்பதற்கு நீட்டியகா
லிச்சக்கரமே யளந்ததாற்—செய்ச்செ
யரிகான் மேற்றேன் றொடுக்குமாய் புனனீர்நாடன்
கரிகாலன் கானெருப்புற்று.

The foot that was raised to step on the three worlds stopped short after measuring only this earth, for the foot of the lord of well-watered countries was, alas, burnt by fire.

5. Mr. JOHN FERGUSON said it would be interesting to know whether the admixture of the native races with the Ceylon Portuguese had introduced a native element into their music.

Mr. FERNANDO replied in the negative, and observed that the music was essentially European in character, and had developed among the Portuguese descendants of Ceylon in the same way that what is known as Christy Minstrelsy originated among the Negroes of America.

The Hon. Mr. COOMÁRASWÁMY said that from his knowledge of Indian music he was in a position to corroborate Mr. Fernando's view.

Dr. PINTO supported this view, and remarked that some of these tunes were to be heard at Bombay at the present day, and bore a strong affinity to music which he himself had heard at Lisbon.

* Here follows a description of the country, &c., which I omit.

† This is an allusion to an occasion when, being quite young, he administered justice to the satisfaction of two aged litigants, who, when they came to him, seeing his youthful appearance, doubted whether they would have justice. The poem is referred to in பழமொழி, stanza 2.

உரைமுடிவு காணினிளமை யோனென்ற
நரைமுது மக்களுவப்ப—நரைமுடித்துச்
சொல்லான் முறைசெய்தான் சோழன் குலவிச்சை
கல்லாமற்பாகம்படும்.

Note the reference to heredity in this stanza.

Mr. Barber referred the origin of Portuguese music to Spain, and said that Spanish music was itself borrowed from the Moors.

His Excellency the Governor expressed his conviction in support of the above remarks, and said that during his long residence at Madeira he had heard similar music, which he had no doubt, while being European in origin, had acquired a tinge from the Arab and the Moor. Referring to Mr. Coomáraswámy's Paper he wished to know what European wines could possibly have been imported to India 2,000 years ago.

Mr. Coomáraswámy thought that most probably the wines referred to were brought over with the Embassies from Italy.

Mr. Ferguson remarked that it was quite possible that wine was in those days brought over from Syria and Persia to India.

6. Mr. P. Freudenberg, in proposing a vote of thanks to the writers of the Papers, said that upon hearing the music of the orchestra he felt himself transported to the Bay of Naples, where he had heard similar tunes. The work of the Society had until quite recently been confined to Europeans, and it was gratifying that two native gentlemen had contributed such interesting information as given that night. In a few happy remarks he showed that human nature was very much the same to-day as it was 2,000 years ago.

The Hon. Mr. Panabokke, in seconding the above resolution, contended that the Sinhalese had a distinctive music of their own, and referred to several Sinhalese works.

His Excellency the Governor, putting the vote to the Meeting, asked to be allowed to include in it the Portuguese band. The vote was carried with acclamation.

7. The Hon. Mr. Swettenham asked the Meeting to record a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding that evening at what was one of the most interesting and largest attended Meetings held for a long time.

Mr. Coomáraswámy seconded the vote, which was carried with acclamation, and the Meeting terminated at about 11 P.M.



CEYLON
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS
COLOMBO